This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

+ *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.

+ *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.

+ *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.

+ *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

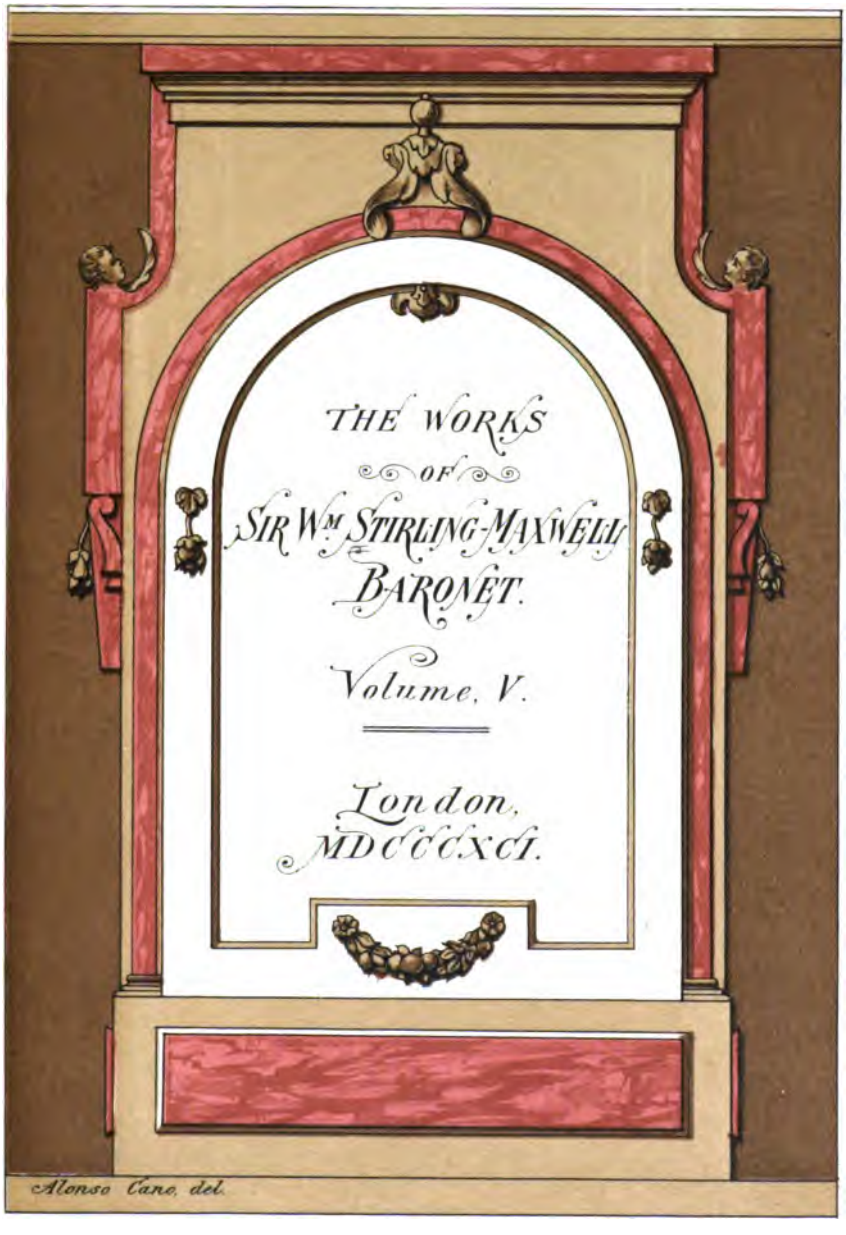
About Google Book Search

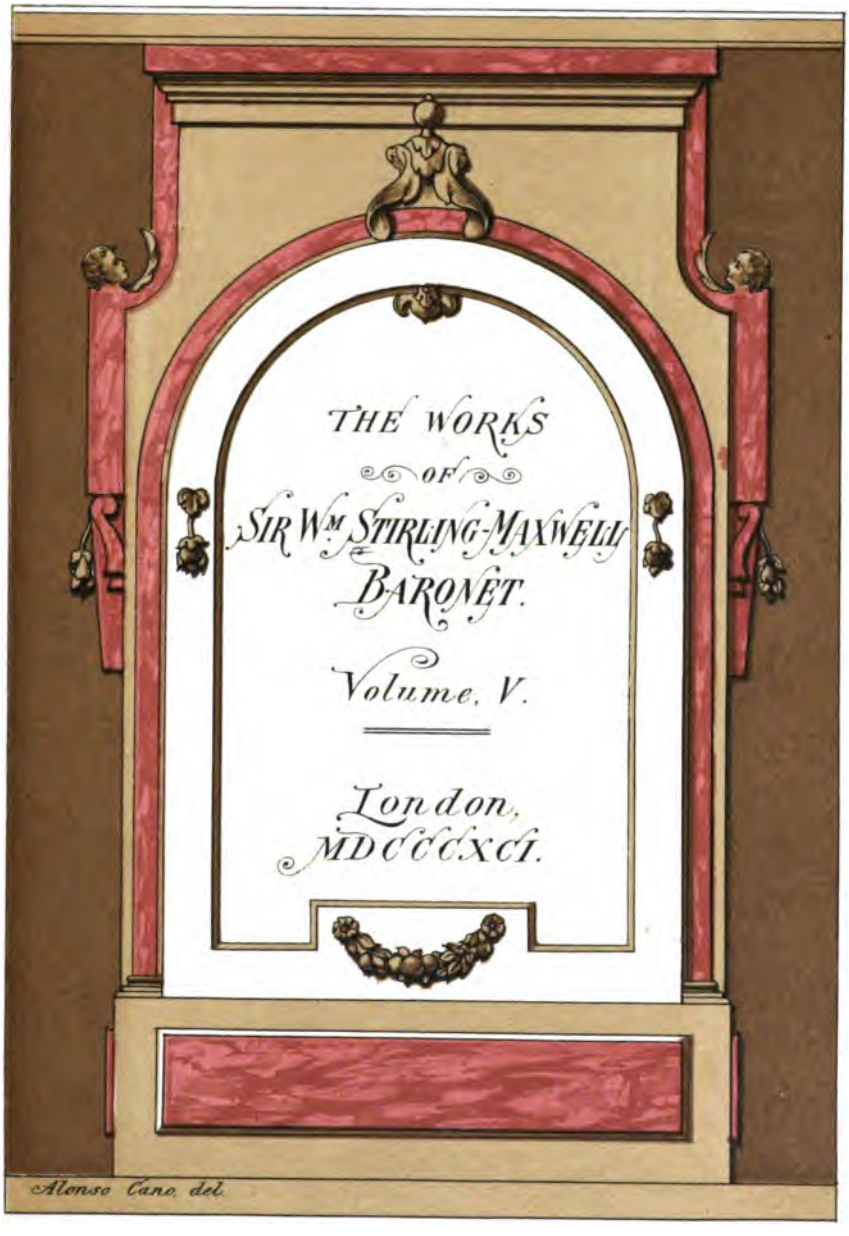
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at `http://books.google.com/`

B 1,457,717

1837
ARTES
VERITAS
SCIENTIA
LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN
SI QUAERIS PENINSULAM AMOENAM
CIRCUMSPICE

AC
8
.S86
V.5


THE WORKS
OF
SIR Wm STIRLING-MAXWELL
BARONET.
Volume V.
London,
MDCCCXCI.
Alonso Cano del.


THE WORKS
OF
SIR Wm STIRLING-MAXWELL
BARONET.
Volume. V.
London,
MDCCCXCI.
Alonso Cano del.

THE CLOISTER LIFE

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

PUBLISHER'S NOTE.

Six hundred and forty copies of this New Edition printed for England, and four hundred for America.

Each copy numbered and type distributed.

No. 763.....

CHARLES V.

THE CLOISTER LIFE

OF THE

3F618

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

BY

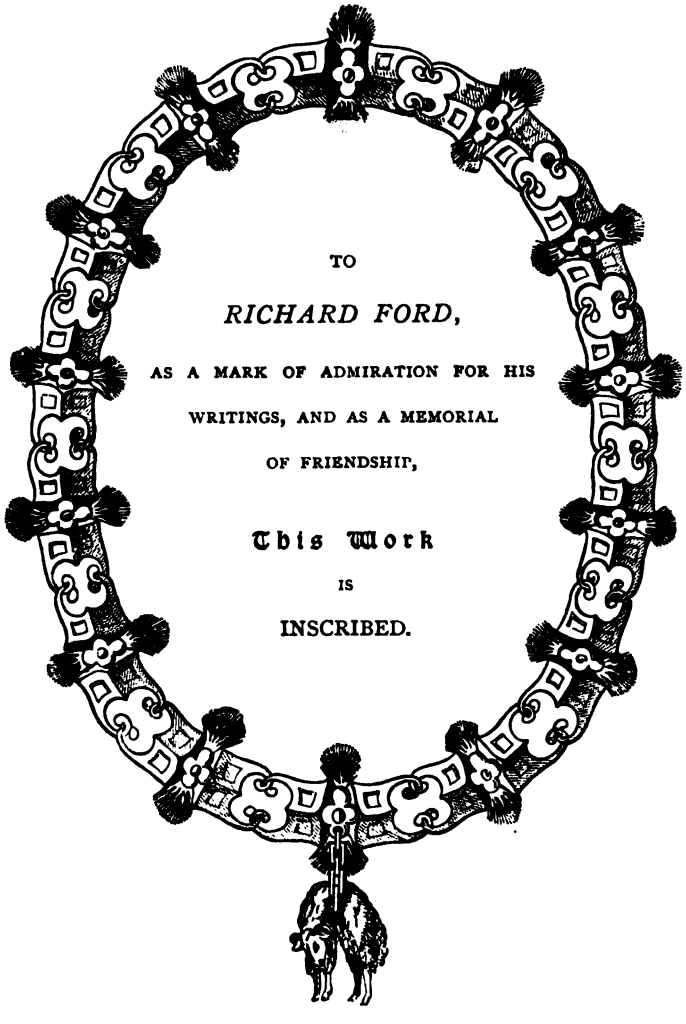
SIR WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL
BARONET

Fourth Edition
INCORPORATING THE AUTHOR'S LATEST NOTES
ADDITIONS AND EMENDATIONS

With Eight Mezzotint Engravings and Five Illustrations in Colour
engraved from Original Water-Colour Sketches

ALSO NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS ON WOOD

LONDON
JOHN C. NIMMO
14, KING WILLIAM STREET, STRAND
MDCCCXCI



TO

RICHARD FORD,

AS A MARK OF ADMIRATION FOR HIS

WRITINGS, AND AS A MEMORIAL

OF FRIENDSHIP,

This Work

IS

INSCRIBED.

DEDICATION OF THE FIRST EDITION.

To the Reader.

Many Alterations and Additions made by my father, and referred to in the Editor's Preface, have been carefully incorporated in this New Edition of his Works; and the Illustrations now added are chosen from many which he had collected for that purpose.

JOHN STIRLING-MAXWELL.

POLLOK, *Sept.* 1890.

ILLVSTRATIONS

VOLUME THE FIFTH.

PAGE

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V., *after Titian; engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes* . . . . . *Frontispiece*

COLLAR AND BADGE OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE. *From Pirro Ant. Ferrari, "Cavallo Frenato," fol. Napoli, 1602* . . . . . *Dedication*

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN, *after Titian; engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes* 16

ANTHONY PERRENOT, BISHOP OF ARRAS, *afterwards* CARDINAL GRANVELLE. *From a print by Martin Rota* 16

BADGE OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE 27

THE INFANTA DOÑA JUANA, PRINCESS OF BRAZIL, REGENT OF SPAIN. *From a print of Peter Mericinus, after an older one by F. Hogenberg* 55

FERDINANDO GONSALVO DE CORDOBA, DUKE OF SESA. *From the print by Nicolo Nelli, 1568* 59

FERDINAND, DUKE OF ALBA. *From a contemporary print* . . 84

DEVICE OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. 96

JUANELO TORRIANO. *From a drawing by B. Montañes, after a bust in the Academy of St. Ferdinand at Madrid; engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes* 128

HELMET OF THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. *In the Armeria Real at Madrid, No. 232* 141

PAGE

PALACE OF YUSTE, AND VILLAGE OF QUACOS, 1832. *Printed in colours from aquatint plates by S. J. Hodson, from original water-colour sketch at Keir* 144

PLAN OF THE MONASTERY OF YUSTE, 1554 157

GATE OF THE PALACE OF YUSTE. *From a water-colour drawing at Keir by J. F. D'Egville, after a sketch by the Author in* 1849; *printed in colours from aquatint plates by S. J. Hodson.* . . . 160

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V. *From a woodcut by Melchior Lorch* . 163

BADGE OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE. *From Cl. Paradin,* "*Devises Heroïques,*" 1577 167

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN. *From a picture by Alonso Sanchez Coello, at Keir* 169

GREAT WALNUT TREE OF YUSTE. *From a water-colour drawing at Keir by J. F. D'Egville, after a sketch made on the spot by the Author in* 1849; *printed in colours from aquatint plates by S. J. Hodson* 176

CHURCH AND PALACE OF YUSTE. *From a water-colour drawing at Keir by J. F. D'Egville, after a sketch made on the spot in* 1851 *by Lieut.-Col. the Hon. H. Percy; printed in colours from aquatint plates by S. J. Hodson* 192

CONVENT AND PALACE OF YUSTE. *From a water-colour drawing at Keir by J. F. D'Egville, after a sketch made on the spot in* 1851 *by Lieut.-Col. the Hon. H. Percy; printed in colours from aquatint plates by S. J. Hodson* 208

DON CARLOS, INFANTA OF SPAIN, SON OF PHILIP II. *After a painting by Alonso Sanchez Coello, in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, No.* 1032; *engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes.* . 218

JUAN GINES SEPULVEDA. *From a print by J. Barcelon, in the* "*Retratos de los Españoles Ilustres,*" *fol. Madrid,* 1791; *engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes* 240

ARMS OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA, WITH COLLAR AND BADGE OF THE ORDER OF THE GOLDEN FLEECE. *From* "*Equile Joannis Austriaci,*" *delin. a J. Stradano, obl. fol., circa* 1580 . . . 282

PAGE

BARTOLOMÉ CARRANZA DE MIRANDA. *From a print by J. Barcelon; engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes* 304

ARMS OF DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. *From "L'Austria" de Ferrante Caraffa, 4to, Napoli, 1572* 386

ISABELLA OF VALOIS, THIRD QUEEN OF PHILIP II. *From a miniature by Felipe de Liaño, at Keir* 412

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA. *From a picture by Alonso Sanchez Coello, formerly in the Galerie Espagnole of the Louvre, now at Keir* . 419

DON LUIS MENDEZ QUIXADA. *From a drawing by B. Montañes after a picture by Titian in the possession of the Conde de Oñate at Madrid* 429

FRAY FRANCISCO BORJA. *From a print by Gaspar Massi; engraved in mezzotint on copper by R. B. Parkes* 448

"LA GLORIA" OF TITIAN. *From a print by Cornelius Cort after the picture formerly in the Convent of Yuste, now in the Museo del Prado, Madrid, No.* 462 480

PREFACE

PREFACE TO THE FOURTH EDITION.

NO apology would have been necessary for issuing a new edition of this work had it been a mere reprint of that which last had the advantage of the author's revision; but full justification was found in the fact that, during the subsequent years of his life, he had enriched both text and notes with important additions and corrections, which the editor has incorporated.

There is also given, in the Appendix, *Notices of the Emperor Charles V. in* 1555 *and* 1556, which the author contributed to the publications of the Philobiblon Society in 1856.

The editor's own additions, which are confined to the notes, are derived chiefly from works on the subject published since 1853, and are distinguished by being placed within brackets.

The illustrations consist of portraits, from the author's collection, of the leading personages referred to, and five coloured engravings from water-colour sketches of Yuste at Keir. A plan of the convent in 1554 is also given, derived from Gachard.

ROBERT GUY.

THE WERN, POLLOKSHAWS,
March, 1891.

AUTHOR'S PREFACES.

CONTENTS OF THE AUTHOR'S PREFACES.

PAGE

Authorities cited in this work—

- Fr. J. de Siguença xv
- Fr. P. de Sandoval xvii
- J. A. de Vera, Fr. M. de Angulo and Marquess of Valparaiso xvii–xviii
- Father P. Ribadeneira xix
- M. Gachard and T. Gonzalez . . . . . xx–xxiv

Doubts as to the self-performed Obsequies of Charles V. examined . xxiv

Don Modesto Lafuente xxx

Notice of the Portrait of Charles V. on the title-page xxxi

Postscript for a Second Edition xxxiii

Postscript for a Third Edition xxxv

M. Bakhuizen van den Brink's Analysis of a MS. by a Monk of Yuste xxxv

- M. Th. Juste xxxix
- M. Mignet xxxix

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

THE first, and perhaps the best, printed account of the cloister life of Charles V. is to be found in Joseph de Siguença's *History of the Order of St. Jerome.* The author was born, about 1545, of noble parents, in the Aragonese city from whence, according to the Jeronymite custom, he afterwards took his name. He became a monk about the age of twenty-one, at El Parral, near Segovia, and having studied at the royal college of the Escorial, he obtained great fame as a preacher in and around Segovia, and was made prior of his convent. Removing to the Escorial, he devoted himself to literary labour in the library which was then being collected and arranged by the learned Arias Montano. His reputation for knowledge soon stood so high, that Philip II. used to say of him, that he was the greatest wonder of the new convent, which was called the eighth wonder of the world. The first of his literary works, a

series of discourses on Ecclesiastes, was denounced as heretical before the bar of the Inquisition at Toledo; but he defended it so well, that he received honourable acquittal, and returned to the Escorial with an unblemished character for orthodoxy, to write the history of St. Jerome and his Order. The first volume, containing the life of the saint, was published in 1595, in quarto, at Madrid; the second and third, in folio, in 1600 and 1605. The author died in 1606, of apoplexy, at the Escorial, having been twice elected prior of the house.

One of the most able and learned of ecclesiastical historians, Siguença, for the elegance and simple eloquence of his style, has been ranked among the classical writers of Castile. Like all monkish chroniclers, he has been compelled to bind up a vast quantity of the tares of religious fiction with the wheat of authentic history; but he writes with an air of sincerity and good faith, and when he is not dealing with miracles and visions, he seems to be earnest in his endeavour to discover and record the truth. In relating the life of the Emperor at Yuste, he had the advantage of conversing with many eye-witnesses of the facts. Fray Antonio de Villacastin and several other monks of Yuste were his brethren at the Escorial; the Emperor's confessor, Regla, and his favourite preacher, Villalva, filled the same posts in the household of Philip II., and were therefore often at the royal convent; the prior may also have seen there,

Quixada the chamberlain, and Gaztelu the secretary, of Charles; and at Toledo or Madrid he may have had opportunities of knowing Torriano, the Emperor's mechanician.

Fray Prudencio de Sandoval, Bishop of Pamplona, printed his well-known *History of Charles V.* at Valladolid, in folio, the first part in 1604, and the second part in 1606. In the latter a supplementary book is devoted to the Emperor's retirement at Yuste. It was drawn up, as we are told by the author, from a manuscript relation in his possession, written by Fray Martin de Angulo, prior of Yuste, at the desire of the Infanta Juana, daughter of the Emperor and Regent of Spain, at the time of his death. As Angulo came to Yuste, on being elected prior, only in the summer of 1558, his personal knowledge of the Emperor's sayings and doings was limited to the last few months of his life. There can be little doubt that his relation was known to Siguença, whose position as prior of the Escorial must have given him access to all the royal archives.

Juan Antonio de Vera y Figueroa, Count of La Roca, printed his *Epitome of the Life of Charles V.*, in quarto, at Madrid, in 1613. It contains little that Sandoval and others had not already published; but there are a few anecdotes of the Emperor's retirement which the author may have picked up from tradition. Being more than seventy years of age at his death, in 1658, he may have conversed with persons who had known his

hero. He also may have seen the narrative of the prior Angulo.

Of that narrative a copy exists, or did lately exist, in the National Library at Madrid. It was seen there some years ago by M. Gachard, of Bruxelles.[1] My friend Don Pascual de Gayangos kindly undertook to search for it, but he was not successful in discovering the original document, or even an early copy. He found, however, a manuscript work of the seventeenth century, which professed to embody the account by Angulo. This work, entitled *El Perfecto Desengaño*, was written in 1638, and dedicated to the Count-Duke of Olivares; and its author, in whose autograph it is written, was the Marquess del Valparaiso, a knight of Santiago and member of the council of war. It is one of the countless treatises of that age on the virtues of princes, of which Charles V., in Spain at least, was always held up as a model. The second part, of which a copy is now before me, is entitled, *Life of the Emperor in the Convent of Yuste, taken from that which was written by the prior Fray Martin de Angulo, by command of the Princess Doña Juana, and from other books and papers of equal quality and credit.* With exception of a few sentences, and a few trifling alterations, the greater part of this narrative is word for word that of Sandoval. I likewise recognise a few excerpts from Vera. Unless, therefore, we suppose that Sandoval

[1] *Bulletins de l'Academie Royale des Sciences et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. Première Partie. 1845.

and Vera, anticipating the process adopted by Valparaiso, transferred the document of Angulo to their own pages, it seems very doubtful whether the Marquess had more than a second-hand knowledge of the narrative of the prior.

The Jesuit Pedro Ribadeneira, in his *Life of Father Francisco Borja*, printed in quarto, at Madrid, in 1592, gave a long and circumstantial account of the interviews which took place in Estremadura between that remarkable man and Charles V. Born in 1527, and in very early life a favourite disciple of Loyola, Ribadeneira had ample opportunities of gathering the materials of his biography from the lips of Borja himself. He is not always accurate in his dates and names of places, but I do not think that his mistakes of this kind are sufficiently important to discredit in any great degree the facts which he relates.

These are the principal writers who have treated of the latter days of Charles V., and who might have conversed with his contemporaries. From their works, Strada, De Thou, Leti, and later authors, writing on the same subject, have drawn their materials, which, in passing from pen to pen, have undergone considerable changes of form.

Our own Robertson has told the story of the Emperor's life at Yuste with much dignity and grace, and still more inaccuracy. Citing the respectable names of Sandoval, Vera, and De Thou, he seems to have chiefly relied upon Leti, one of the most lively and least trustworthy of the

historians of his time. He does not appear to have been aware of the existence of Siguença—the author, as we have seen, of the only printed account of the imperial retirement which can pretend to the authority of contemporary narrative.

A visit which I paid to Yuste in the summer of 1849, led me to look into the earliest records of the event to which the ruined convent owes its historical interest. Finding the subject but slightly noticed, yet considerably misrepresented, by English writers, I collected the results of my reading into two papers, contributed to *Fraser's Magazine*, in April and May, 1851.

An article by M. Gachard, in the *Bulletins* of the Royal Academy of Bruxelles,[1] afterwards informed me that the archives of the Foreign Office of France contained a MS. account of the retirement of Charles V., illustrated with original letters, and compiled by Don Tomas Gonzalez. Of the existence of this precious document I had already been made aware by Mr. Ford's *Handbook for Spain;* but my inquiries after it, both in Madrid and in Paris, had proved fruitless. During the past winter I have had ample opportunities of examining it—opportunities for which I must express my gratitude to the President of France, who favoured me with the necessary order, and to Lord Normanby, late British ambassador in Paris, and M. Drouyn de Lhuys,

[1] *Bulletins de l'Academie Royale des Sciences et des Belles Lettres*, tom. xii. Première Partie. 1845.

who kindly interested themselves in getting the order obeyed by the unwilling officials of the archives. As the Gonzalez MS. has formed the groundwork of the following chapters, it may not be out of place here to give some account of that work and of its compiler.

At the restoration of Ferdinand VII. to the throne of Spain, the royal archives of that kingdom, preserved in the castle of Simancas, near Valladolid, were entrusted to the care of Don Tomas Gonzalez, canon of Plasencia. They were in a state of great confusion, owing to the depredations of the French invader, subsequent neglect, and the partial return of the papers which followed the peace. Gonzalez succeeded in restoring order, and he also found time to use his opportunities for the benefit of historical literature. To the *Memoirs of the Royal Academy of History* he contributed a long and elaborate paper on the relations between Philip II. and our Queen Elizabeth; and he had prepared this account of the retirement of Charles V., and had had it fairly copied for the press, when death brought his labours to a premature close. His books and papers fell into the hands of his brother Manuel, for whom he had obtained the reversion of his post at Simancas. At the revolution of La Granja, in 1836, Manuel being displaced and beggared, offered the memoir of Charles V. to the governments of France, Russia, Belgium, and England, at the price of 10,000 francs, or about £400, reserving the right of publishing it for his own behoof, or of 15,000 francs without such

reservation. No purchaser at that price appearing, he at last disposed of it, in 1844, for the sum of 4,000 francs, to the archives of the French Foreign Office, of which M. Mignet was then director.[1] Of what possible use this curious memoir could be in the conduct of modern foreign affairs, it is difficult even to guess; but it is due to M. Mignet to say, that both during his tenure of office and since, he has taken every precaution in his power to keep his prize sacred to the mysterious purpose for which he had originally destined it.

By the terms of his bargain, M. Mignet acquired both the original MS. of Gonzalez, and the fair copy enriched with notes in his own hand. The copy contains 387 folio leaves, written on both sides, the memoir filling 266 leaves, and the appendix 121. There is also a plan of the palace, and part of the monastery of Yuste.

The memoir is entitled *The Retirement, Residence, and Death of the Emperor Charles V. in the Monastery of Yuste; a historical narrative founded on documents.*[2] It commences with an account of many political events previous to, and not much connected with, the Emperor's retirement; such as the negotiations for the marriage of Philip II. with the Infanta Mary of Portugal, and afterwards with Queen Mary of England; the regency estab-

[1] I am enabled to state the exact sum through the kindness of M. Van de Weyer, Belgian Minister to the court of England, who obtained the information from M. Gachard.

[2] *Retiro estancia y muerte del Emperador Carlos Quinto en el monasterio de Yuste; relacion histórica documentada.*

lished in Spain during his absence; the deaths of Queen Juana, mother of the Emperor, and of Popes Julius III. and Marcellus II.; the truce of Vaucelles; and the diplomatic relations of Pope Paul IV. with the courts of France and Spain. But the bulk of the memoir consists almost wholly of original letters, selected from the correspondence carried on between the courts at Valladolid and Bruxelles, and the retired Emperor and his household, in the years 1556, 1557, and 1558. The principal writers are Philip II., the Infanta Juana, Princess of Brazil and Regent of Spain, Juan Vazquez de Molina, secretary of state, Francisco de Eraso, secretary to the King, and Don Garcia de Toledo, tutor to Don Carlos; the Emperor, Luis Quixada, chamberlain to the Emperor, Martin de Gaztelu, his secretary, William Van Male, his gentleman of the chamber, and Mathys and Cornelio, his physicians. The thread of the narrative is supplied by Gonzalez, who has done his part with great judgment, permitting the story to be told as far as possible by the original actors in their own words.

The appendix is composed of the ten following documents referred to in the memoir, and of various degrees of value and interest:—

1. *Instructions given by the Emperor to his son at Augsburg, on the 9th January* 1548.

2.
3. *Speeches pronounced by the Emperor at Bruxelles during the ceremonies of his abdication.*
4.
5.

6. *Letter from the Cardinal-Archbishop (Siliceo) of Toledo to the Princess-Regent of Spain, 28th June* 1556.
7. *Extract from the inventory of the furniture and jewels belonging to the Emperor at his death.*
8. *Protest of Philip II. against the Pope, 6th May* 1557.
9. *Justification of the King of Spain against the Pope, the King of France, and the Duke of Ferrara.*
10. *Will of the Emperor, with its codicil.*

Of these papers, Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, 10, and perhaps some of the others, have already been printed: of No. 7 I have given an abstract in my appendix.

Notwithstanding the minute information which Gonzalez has brought to light respecting the daily life of the Emperor at Yuste, some doubt still rests on the question whether Charles did or did not perform his own obsequies. Gonzalez treats the story as an idle tale; he laments the credulity displayed even in the sober statement of Siguença; and he pours out much patriotic scorn on the highly wrought picture of Robertson. The opinions of the canon, on all other matters carefully weighed and considered, are well worthy of respect, and require some examination.

Of Robertson's account of the matter, it is impossible to offer any defence. Masterly as a sketch, it has unhappily been copied from the canvas of the unscrupulous Leti,[1] who had himself copied and caricatured the account given by Strada. In everything but style it is indeed

[1] *Vita dell' invitissimo imp. Carlo V.* da Gregorio Leti, 4 vols 12mo, Amsterdam, 1700, iv. pp. 370–4.

very absurd. "The Emperor was bent," says the historian, "on performing some act of piety that would display his zeal, and merit the favour of Heaven. The act on which he fixed was as wild and uncommon as any that superstition ever suggested to a weak and disordered fancy. He resolved to celebrate his own obsequies before his death. He ordered his tomb to be erected in the chapel of the monastery. His domestics marched thither in funeral procession, with black tapers in their hands. He himself followed in his shroud. He was laid in his coffin with much solemnity. The service for the dead was chanted, and Charles joined in the prayers which were offered up for the rest of his soul, mingling his tears with those which his attendants shed, as if they had been celebrating a real funeral. The ceremony closed with sprinkling holy water on the coffin in the usual form, and all the assistants retiring, the doors of the chapel were shut. Then Charles rose out of the coffin, and withdrew to his apartment, full of those awful sentiments which such a singular solemnity was calculated to inspire. But either the fatiguing length of the ceremony, or the impressions which the image of death left on his mind, affected him so much, that next day he was seized with a fever. His feeble frame could not long resist its violence, and he expired on the 21st September, after a life of fifty-eight years, six months, and twenty-five days."

Siguença's account of the affair, which I have adopted, is that Charles, conceiving it to be for the benefit of his

soul, and having obtained the consent of his confessor, caused a funeral service to be performed for himself, such as he had lately been performing for his father and mother. At this service he assisted, not as a corpse, but as one of the spectators; holding in his hand, like the others, a waxen taper, which, at a certain point of the ceremonial, he delivered to the officiating priest, in token of his desire to commit his soul to the keeping of his Maker. There is not a word to justify the tale that he followed the procession in his shroud, or that he simulated death in his coffin, or that he was left behind, shut up alone in the church, when the service was over.

In this story respecting an infirm old man, the devout son of a Church where services for the dead are of daily occurrence, I can see nothing incredible, or very surprising. It is surely as reasonable for a man on the brink of the grave to perform funeral rites for himself, as to perform such rites for persons who had been buried many years before. Superstition and dyspepsia have driven men into far greater extravagances. Nor is there any reason to doubt Siguença's veracity in a matter in which the credit of his order, or the interest of the Church, is in no way concerned. He might perhaps be suspected of overstating the regard entertained by the Emperor for the friars of Yuste, were his evidence not confirmed by the letters of the friar-hating household. But I see no reason for questioning the accuracy of his account of the imperial obsequies. That account was written while he was prior

of the Escorial, and as such almost in the personal service of Philip II., a prince who was peculiarly jealous of what was written about his father.[1] And it was published with the authority of his name, while men were still alive who could have contradicted a misstatement.

The strongest objection urged by Gonzalez to the story, rests on the absence of all confirmation of it in the letters written from Yuste. We know, he says, that, on the 26th August 1558, the Emperor gave audience to Don Pedro Manrique; that on the 27th he spent the greater part of the day in writing to the Princess-Regent; and that on the 28th he held a long conference with Garcilasso de la Vega on the affairs of Flanders. Can we therefore believe what is alleged by Siguença, that the afternoon of the 27th and the morning of the 28th were given by Charles to the performance of his funeral rites; and if rites so remarkable were performed, is it credible that no allusion to them should be made in letters written at Yuste on the days when they took place?

Part of the objection falls to the ground, when reference is made to the folio of Siguença. He says[2] that the obsequies were celebrated, not on the 27th and 28th, but on the 30th August; and it so happens, that on that day and the next, no letters were written at Yuste, or at least, that none bearing either of those dates fell into the hands of Gonzalez. The Emperor's attack of illness, on the

[1] See chap. xi. p. 431.

[2] Siguença, *Hist. de la Orden de S. Gerón.*, tom. iii. p. 201.

30th, was ascribed by the physician to his having sat too long in the sun in his western alcove; and his being able to sit there tallies with Siguença's statement, that he felt better after his funeral. From the absence of allusion in the letters to a service so remarkable, I infer, not that it never took place, but that the secretary and chamberlain did not think it worthy of remark. Charles was notoriously devout, and very fond of devotional exercises beyond the daily routine of religious observance. His punctuality in performing his spiritual duties may be noted in the Yuste letters, where frequent mention is made of his receiving the Eucharist at the hermitage of Belem, a fact stated in proof, we may be sure, not of the warmth of his piety, but of the robustness of his health. Of the services performed in the church for the souls of his deceased parents and wife, which both Siguença and Sandoval have recorded, and which I see no reason to doubt, no notice whatever occurs in the letters, except a casual remark which fell from the pen of secretary Gaztelu, on the 28th April 1558, that "Juan Gaytan had come to put in order the wax and other things needful for the honours of the Empress, which His Majesty was in the habit of celebrating on each May-day." The truth seems to be that the most hearty enmity prevailed between the Jeronymites and the imperial household; and that the chamberlain and his people abstained from all communications with the monks not absolutely necessary, and left the religious recreations, as well as the spiritual interests

of their master, entirely in the hands of the confessor and the prior. Keeping no record of the functions performed within the walls of the convent, it is possible that the lay letter-writers of Yuste might have passed over in silence even such a scene as that fabled by Robertson; while in the sober pages of Siguença, there really seems nothing that a Spaniard of 1558, living next door to a convent, might not have deemed unworthy of special notice.

It is remarkable that Gonzalez, while so strenuously denying the credibility of the story, should have furnished, under his own hand, a piece of evidence of some weight in its favour. In an inventory of State papers of Castile, drawn up by him in 1818, and existing at Simancas, and in duplicate in the Foreign Office at Madrid, M. Gachard found the following entry:—

No. 119, *ann.* 1557. *Original letters of Charles V., written from Xarandilla and Yuste to the Infanta Juana, and Juan Vasquez de Molina.* * * * *They treat of the public affairs of the time:* ITEM, OF THE MOURNING STUFFS ORDERED FOR THE PURPOSE OF PERFORMING HIS FUNERAL HONOURS DURING HIS LIFE.[1]

M. Gachard supposes that this entry may have been transcribed by Gonzalez from the wrapper of a bundle of papers which he had found thus entitled, and the contents of which he had neglected to verify. If his subsequent researches did not discover any such documents, it is to be regretted that he had not at least corrected the error of the inventory.

[1] *Item, de los lutos que encargó para hacerse las honras en vida. Bull. de l'Acad. roy.* xii. l'remière Partie, p. 257.

The gravest objection to the account of the affair which I have adopted, is, that it is not wholly confirmed by the prior Angulo. In Angulo's report, says M. Gachard,[1] it is stated that Charles ordered his obsequies to be performed during his life; but it is not stated whether the order was fulfilled. Sandoval, professing to take Angulo for his guide, is altogether silent on the subject; and as he can hardly be supposed to have been ignorant of the work of Siguença, there is room for the presumption that he rejected the evidence of that churchman. But on a mere presumption, founded on the fact that a Benedictine did not choose to quote the writings of a Jeronymite, I cannot agree to discard evidence otherwise respectable. I have therefore followed prior Siguença, of the Escorial, the revival of whose version of the story will, I hope, in time, counteract the inventions of later writers—inventions which I have more than once heard gravely recognised as instructive and authentic history in the pulpit discourses of popular divines.[2]

It may be a source of disappointment to my readers, as

[1] *Bull. de l'Acad. roy.* xii. Première Partie, p. 259.

[2] Don Modesto Lafuente, *Historia de España*, 18 tomos, 8vo, Madrid, 1851-7, tom. xii. p. 484, denies the truth of the funeral ceremonies performed in the Emperor's life. He cites my adherence to Siguença's narrative as a proof of the manner in which the idea had fixed itself in the public mind; but he does not endeavour to explain how the prior of the Escorial, under Philip II., came to write down a fiction about the Emperor's last days, in the presence of several of his own Escorial friars who must have been eye-witnesses to the scene if it took place, and would have contradicted him if it had not. He rests his incredulity solely on the great improbability that, if such a thing had happened, the letter-writers of Yuste would not have taken some notice of it.

it is to myself, that I have not been able to lay before them any of the original letters of the Emperor and his servants, and their royal and official correspondents. In obtaining access, however, to the manuscript of Gonzalez, I was subjected to conditions which rendered this impossible. The French Government, I was informed, had entertained the design of publishing the entire work—a design which the Revolution of 1848 of course laid upon the shelf, but which, I trust, will ere long be carried into effect. Meanwhile, I believe that neither the memoir nor the letters contain any interesting fact, or trait of character, which will not be found in the following pages, with some illustrations of the Emperor and his history, gathered from other sources, which I hope may not be found altogether without value.

The portrait of the Emperor, on my title-page, is taken from the fine print, engraved by Eneas Vico, from his own drawing—a head surrounded by a florid framework of architectural and emblematical ornament. This seems to have been the portrait which Charles, according to Lodovico Dolce, examined so curiously and approved so highly, and for which he rewarded Vico with 200 crowns.[1] The drawing was probably made several years before the plate was engraved, but I have been unable to find any satisfactory contemporary portrait of the Emperor in his latter days. Perhaps none exists, as Charles, at the age of

[1] *Dialogo della Pittura de M. Lod. Dolce*, sm. 8vo, Vinegia, 1557, fol. 18.

thirty-five, considered himself, as he told the painter Holanda, already too old for limning purposes. The eagle and ornaments around the present head are selected from woodcuts in Spanish books of 1545[1] and 1552.[2]

[1] Æl. Ant. Nebrissensis, *Rerum a Fernando et Elizabetha, gest.*, &c., fol., Granada, 1545.

[2] J. C. Calvete, *Viage del principe D. Phelippe*, fol., Anvers, 1552. The neatly executed arms on the title-page bear the mark generally attributed to Juan D'Arphe y Villafañe, the famous goldsmith, engraver, and artistic author of Valladolid.

KEIR, 31*st May* 1852.

POSTSCRIPT FOR A SECOND EDITION.

THE favour with which this work has been received having rendered a second edition necessary, I have endeavoured to acknowledge my sense of the kindness of the public, by bestowing on its pages a careful revision, as well as some new matter which I hope will be found to enhance its utility and interest, without greatly increasing its size.

128 PARK STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE,
December 21st, 1852.

POSTSCRIPT FOR A THIRD EDITION.

THIS edition had already gone to press, when I first saw a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Belgium, by M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, and entitled *La Retraite de Charles Quint, analyse d'un manuscript Espagnol contemporain, par un Religieux de l'ordre de St. Jerôme à Yuste.*[1] The manuscript, thus analysed with great care and ability, was formerly in the archives of the Cour-feodale, and is now in those of the Cour-d'appel at Bruxelles. It consists of forty-five folio pages, written in a fine close hand of the end of the sixteenth, or of the beginning of the seventeenth century. Its title is *A Brief and Summary*

---

[1] *Compte-rendu des seances de la commission royale d'histoire ou recueil de ses bulletins.* Deuxième serie, tom. i. 1er bulletin 8vo, Bruxelles, 1850, p. 57. A few copies were struck off as a separate tract, and to one of them my references are made.

History of how the Emperor Don Charles V., our lord, determined to retire to the Monastery of St. Jerome of Yuste, in the Vera of Plasencia, and to renounce his States in favour of the Prince Don Philip his son, and of the mode and manner in which he lived for a year and eight months, all but eight days, in the Monastery until his death, and of the things which happened in his life and death.[1] The memoir is divided into fifty chapters, of which the first tells *How the Prince Don Philip was married in England*, and the last treats *Of the affliction of the village of Quacos and all the Vera when the body of the Emperor was removed from Yuste.* It was written, says M. Bakhuizen, in or about 1574, soon after the removal of the Emperor's remains. The author informs us that he was a monk of Yuste, and that he was one of four of the brotherhood who were appointed to watch the corpse of Charles at the time of his death, and one of eight who were sent to attend it to the Escorial. But he has concealed his name, which at this distance of time there is little hope of discovering. M. Bakhuizen is inclined to identify him with one of four persons—the prior Angulo, the confessor Regla, Fray Lorenzo de

[1] *Historia breve y sumaria de como el Emperador Don Carlos Quinto, nuestro señor, trató de venir se á recojer al monasterio de S. Hierónimo de Yuste, que es en la Vera de Plasencia, y renunciar sus estados en el principe, Don Phelipe su hijo, y del modo y manera que vivio un año y ocho meses menos nueve dias, que estuvo en este monasterio, hasta que murió, y de las cosas que acaecieron en su vida y muerte.*

Losar, employed as purveyor of the imperial household, and Fray Miguel de Torralva, who held the post of *obrero* or master of works. The prior and the confessor, he says, are spoken of in such terms in the memoir, that it is very unlikely that either of them was the author of it; to which I may add that, in the case of the confessor, this improbability is enhanced by the fact that Regla left Yuste immediately after the Emperor's death, and appears to have resided afterwards either at court or at Zaragoza. Of the two remaining friars, M. Bakhuizen is inclined to favour the claim of Losar, his name appearing along with that of the prior as a witness to the process-verbal which recorded the deposit of the Emperor's body at Yuste, and that document being given at full length in the memoir.

Not having seen the manuscript, I am unable to judge of the soundness of M. Bakhuizen's hypothesis. In the absence of direct evidence I should be inclined to attribute such a paper to the one monk of Yuste whom we know to have been fond of reading and writing, Fray Hernando de Corral.

The narrative in the main confirms those of Sandoval and Siguença. It is not improbable that the author, before he wrote his reminiscences, may have refreshed his memory by reading Angulo's memoir, which may account for minute coincidences with the expressions of Sandoval, who borrowed freely from Angulo. For

example, Sandoval says the Emperor was contented to lead "the poor life of an honourable esquire,"[1] *la pobre vida de un escudero honrado*, while the Bakhuizen MS. compares the imperial household to that of a poor country gentleman, *un pobre hidalgo*.[2] The resemblance to Siguença's account is still closer, so close that it seems likely that Siguença, who does not avow any obligation to Angulo, may have been indebted for some, at least, of his facts, to this other monk of Yuste. To cite a few instances; the monk speaks of the retired Emperor as a *pobre hidalgo;* Siguença calls him an *honesto hidalgo;*[3] the monk erroneously places the body of Queen Juana amongst the royal corpses brought in 1574 to the Escorial;[4] Siguença, although prior of the Escorial, has fallen into the same error;[5] the stories of the hyssop and pyx, which I have related[6] on the authority of Siguença,[7] are also told by the monk;[8] and lastly, Siguença's description of the obsequies performed by Charles for himself is confirmed in every particular by this anonymous eye-witness.[9] Whoever its author may have been, the manuscript is well worth printing entire,

[1] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, 2 tom., fol., Pamplona, 1634, ii. p. 811.
[2] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 20.
[3] Siguença, *Hist. de la ord. de S. Gerónimo*, iii. p. 291.
[4] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 60.
[5] Siguença, iii. p. 569. [6] Chap. viii. p. 273.
[7] Siguença, iii. pp. 194, 195.
[8] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 39.
[9] Id., p. 45.

and I trust that the Belgian Government may ere long be induced to give it to the world. Meanwhile, I have to acknowledge my obligations to M. Bakhuizen van den Brink's paper for several fresh details of the Emperor's life and death, and to M. Van de Weyer and M. Gachard for their kindness in bringing that paper under my notice.

To this edition I have also added a chapter on the Emperor's abdication and subsequent life at Bruxelles, in which I have freely availed myself of information supplied by M. Th. Juste, in his agreeable tract on that subject.[1]

Soon after the appearance of my work, M. Mignet commenced a series of elaborate papers on *Charles V., his Abdication and Retirement*, still in course of publication in the *Journal des Savants*, at Paris.[2] Composed mainly of materials afforded by the MS. of Gonzalez, these papers explain why that MS. was acquired by the Foreign Office of France, and why it has been so zealously guarded by M. Mignet. They are written in the able style with which M. Mignet's other works have made the world familiar. The paucity

[1] *L'Abdication de Charles Quint*, par Th. Juste (*extraite du Progrès Pacifique*), 8vo, Liege, 1851, p. 31.

[2] *Charles Quint, son abdication, sa retraite, son séjour, et sa mort au monastère hieronomite de Yuste*, par M. Mignet. These papers began in the number for November 1852, and were continued in December, and in January and March 1853.

of extracts from the original documents is a matter of regret, but this defect may perhaps be repaired when the completed chapters are published in the form of a book.

128 PARK STREET, GROSVENOR SQUARE,
June 25th, 1853.

[The articles above referred to were published by M. Mignet in 1 vol. 8vo, Paris, 1854, as *Charles-Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au Monastère de Yuste.* M. Amédée Pichot also published, almost simultaneously, his *Charles-Quint, chronique de sa vie intérieure et de sa vie politique de son abdication et de sa retraite dans le cloître de Yuste*, 1 vol. 8vo, Paris, 1854, in which he agrees with the views above stated as to the Emperor's part in his own obsequies (p. 443).

It is due to M. Gachard to say that in his *Retraite et mort de Charles-Quint au Monastère de Yuste*, 3 tomes 8vo, Bruxelles, Gand et Leipzig, 1854-5 (*Lettres Inédites*, tom. 1er, p. lxxiii.), he admits the force of these opinions, and so far modifies the views which he had previously expressed by saying—"En resumé, je n'oserais, pour mon compte, admettre ni rejeter, d'une manière absolue, les recits du religieux de Yuste, du prieur fray Martin de Angulo et du P. Sigüenza. La certitude historique ne me paraît encore acquise, à cet égard, dans un sens ni dans l'autre;" while in another passage (p. lxviii.) he says—"Pour moi, après une étude attentive des documents, je trouve des motifs à peu près égaux de douter et de croire."

Prescott, who published his *Life of Charles the Fifth after his Abdication* in 1856, fairly summarises the arguments on both sides, but inclines to admit the fact that the obsequies took place.

Reference may also be made to a volume consisting of a summary in Dutch of these three works, viz. :—*Afstand, Kloosterleven en Dood van Karel V. naar Stirling, Mignet en Pichot*, door J. L. Terwen, 8vo, Utrecht, 1854.—ED.]

CHAPTER I.

THE IMPERIAL ABDICATION.—1538–1556.

	PAGE
Emperor's intention to retire	1
Philip made Duke of Milan	2
Death of his first wife	2
Negotiations for his second marriage	3
Mary Tudor offers the Emperor her hand	3
He transfers it to Philip	3
Philip breaks off match with the Infanta Mary of Portugal	4
Emperor's feeble health	5
Exaggerated reports of it	5
Philip made King of Naples	6
He is recalled from Windsor to Bruxelles	6
Is made Grand Master of the Golden Fleece	7
Emperor abdicates the sovereignty of the Netherlands	8
Company and ceremonial	8
Emperor's speech	10
Jacques Maes's speech	15
Speech of Philip	15
Speech of the Bishop of Arras	15
Speech of Mary, Queen of Hungary	17
Jacques Maes's reply	18
Emperor signs abdication	18
Emperor abdicates Sicilian and Spanish crowns	19
Wish to make Philip Emperor opposed by Ferdinand, King of Romans	20
Emperor's wish to lay aside title	21
He retires to a house in park of Bruxelles	21
Is visited by Admiral de Coligny	22
Jests of Brusquet	24
The Emperor at Sterrebeke	25
Arrival of Maximilian and Mary of Bohemia	25
Journey to the coast	25
Emperor's letter to Ferdinand	26
Embarks for Spain	27

CHAPTER II.

THE BAY OF BISCAY; LAREDO; BURGOS; AND VALLADOLID.—1556.

	PAGE
Eleanor, Queen-dowager of France and Portugal	29
Mary, Queen-dowager of Hungary	32
They sail on the 17th	37
Land on 28th Sept. at Laredo	37
Want of preparations to receive them	38
Arrival of Luis Quixada	39
They start on 6th Oct.	41
Emperor's gifts to Laredo	41
Journey	41
Ampuero	42
La Nestosa, 7th Oct.	42
Aguera, 8th Oct.	42
Medina de Pomar, 9th Oct.	42
Visitors	45
Journey resumed	45
Pesadas, 11th Oct.	45
Gondomin, 12th Oct.	45
Entry into Burgos, 13th Oct.	46
Journey to Valladolid	48
Celeda, 16th Oct.	48
Palenzuela, 17th Oct.	48
Torquemada, 18th Oct.	49
Dueñas, 19th Oct.	49
Cabezon, 20th Oct.	50
Don Carlos meets Emperor	50
Enters Valladolid, 21st Oct.	51
Infanta Juana	53
Festivities at Valladolid	58
Perico de Sant Erbas	59
Don Constantino de Braganza	60
Causes of ill-will between Spain and Portugal	60
Affairs submitted to Emperor	61
Anthony, Duke of Vendôme	62
He proposes to sell his rights to Navarre	64
Doubts as to Emperor's retreat	64
Don Carlos	65

CHAPTER III.

THE CASTLE OF XARANDILLA.—1556.

Emperor leaves Valladolid, 4th Nov.	67
Illness	68
Valdestillas, 4th Nov.	68
Medina del Campo, 5th Nov.	68
Horcajo de las Torres, 6th Nov.	70
Peñaranda, 7th Nov.	70
Alaraz, 8th Nov.	70
Gallegos de Solmiron, 9th Nov.	70
Barco de Avila, 10th Nov.	71
Tornavacas, 11th Nov.	71
Pass of Puertonuevo	72
Xarandilla, 12th Nov.	73
Vera of Plasencia	74
Reasons for Emperor's choice of his retreat	75
Village and castle of Xarandilla	77
Count of Oropesa	78
Bad weather	79

PAGE

Emperor's interest in public affairs 79
Pope Paul IV. and Henry II. of France combine against Philip II. 79–81
Coligny invades Flanders . . 81
Duke of Guise invades Naples . 81
Flanders defended by Duke of Savoy 82
Duke of Alba defends Naples 83–4
Infanta Mary of Portugal . . 85
Navarre 87
Barbary 87
Buildings at Yuste. . . . 87
Emperor visits Yuste . . . 89
Discontent of his household . . 90
Quixada 90
Gaztelu 91
Emperor's love of eating . . 92
Partridges from Gama . . . 94
Sausages from Tordesillas . . 95
Presents for Emperor's larder . 95
Quixada's fears 95

CHAPTER IV.

SERVANTS AND VISITORS.—1556–1557.

Household of the Emperor . . 97
Confessor, Fr. Juan de Regla . 97
Chamberlain, Luis Quixada . . 100
Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, wife of Quixada 102
Don John of Austria . . . 102
Mystery of Don John's parentage . 104
Early religious training . . . 104
Secretary, Martin Gaztelu . . 105
William Van Male, Gentleman-of-the Chamber 106
Translates the Emperor's *Memoirs* 108
Is made to print Acuña's translation of *Le Chevalier Délibéré* . 108
Puts Emperor's prayers into Latin 110
His letters 111
His books 112
Loss of his books . . . 113
Marriage 114
Physicians 115
Dr. Henry Mathys . . . 115
Dr. Giovanni Antonio Mole . 115
Dr. Cornelio Mathys . . . 115
Watchmaker, Juanelo Torriano . 116
Emperor's visitors 116
Fr. Francisco Borja, S.J. . . 117
His history 117
Visits Xarandilla, Dec. 1556 . 121
His *Apologia* 123
Emperor's opinion of it . . 124
Fr. Bustamente 125
Discussion of the Jesuits . . 125
Emperor's reconciliation . . 127
Audiences with Borja private . 127
Don Luis de Avila 128
His *Commentaries on the War in Germany* 129
Visits Xarandilla 21st Jan. 1557 132
Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Plasencia . . 132
Emperor's health 133
Attack of gout 133
Appetite 134
Refreshments 134
Senna wine 134
Neapolitan manna 135
His Christmas present of game to the convent 135
Lorenzo Pires. 135
News from Italy 136

	PAGE
Emperor's disgust	136
His anxiety for safety of Oran	137
Works at Yuste	137
Servants paid off and take leave	138
Removal to Yuste, 3rd Feb. 1557	139
Reception	139
Blunder of the prior	140
Grief of the dismissed servants	140

CHAPTER V.

THE MONASTERY OF ST. JEROME OF YUSTE.—1557.

Order of St. Jerome	143
Yuste	146
Its site	146
Its name, foundation in 1408, and early history	147
Its progress	148
Its remarkable monks	149
Fray Pedro de Bejar	149
Gerónimo de Plasencia	149
Melchor de Yepes	149
Fray Juan de Xeres	149
Fray Rodrigo de Caçeres	150
Diego de San Gerónimo	150
Fray Alonso Mudarra	150
Fray Hernando de Corral	150
Fray Antonio de Villacastin	152
Fray Juan de Ortega	154
Charities of Yuste	154
The Palacio of Yuste	154
Emperor's rooms	155
Prospect from his chambers	155
The great "Nogal" of Yuste	159
Domestic arrangements	159
Chief members of household	160
Emperor's health and physicians	162
Furniture of the palace	165
Plate	166
Emperor's dress	166
Pictures	168
Portraits	171
Books	172
Music	173
Organ	174
Choir	174
The chaplains	175
Fray Francisco de Villalva	175
Fray Juan de Açoloras	176
Fray Juan de Santandres	176
Emperor's day	177
Torriano and his clocks	178
Self-acting mill	179
Mechanical toys	180
Emperor's pet birds and shooting excursions	180
His last appearance on horseback	180

CHAPTER VI.

STATE-CRAFT IN THE CLOISTER.—1557.

Household more reconciled to Yuste	183
Monsieur de la Chaulx	183
Improvement in Emperor's health	184
Quixada complains of solitude of Yuste	185
Emperor's attention to business	185
His style and title	186

PAGE

He accredits an ambassador to Portugal 186
Petitioners 186
Refutation of tale that he repented of his retiral 187
His revenue punctually paid . 190–1
Financial difficulties of Spain . 192
Princess-Regent seizes bullion belonging to traders of Seville . 193
They resist her officers with success 193
Emperor's indignation against them 194
Foreign affairs 195
Ruy Gomez de Silva 196
Emperor's high opinion of him . 197
He is lodged in the convent . . 197
Philip desires Emperor to reside nearer Valladolid . . . 197
He consults him as to sending Don Carlos to Flanders . . . 197
Emperor disapproves 198
War in Netherlands and Navarre . 198
Affairs in Italy 199
Duke of Guise invades Naples . 199
Duke of Alba defends it . . 199
Solyman the Magnificent . . 200
Pirates of the Mediterranean . 200
Barbarossa's ravages . . . 201
Levies for army of Flanders . . 202
Emperor appeals to the Church for a loan 202
Archbishops of Toledo and Zaragoza 203

PAGE

Bishop of Cordoba 203
Archbishop of Seville . . . 203
His delays 204
His excuses 205
His discussion with Ochoa and its result 206
Agrees to lend 50,000 ducats . 207
Ruy Gomez de Silva's second visit to Yuste with agents of Anthony, King of Navarre . . 207
Death of John III. of Portugal . 208
Jealousy of Portugal and Spain . 209
Emperor condoles with his sister, Queen Catherine . . . 210
Princess of Brazil disappointed of the regency of Portugal . . 211
Operations in Flanders . . . 211
Battle of St. Quentin . . . 211
Spanish victory, 10th August . 212
Joy occasioned by news at Yuste . 212
Dilatory policy of Philip II. . . 213
Italy 213
Guise retreats from Neapolitan frontier 214
Alba advances on Rome . . 214
Shameful treaty between Philip II. and the Pope 215
Emperor's displeasure . . . 216
Don Carlos 218
Letters from his tutor to the Emperor 218
Venetian envoy's opinion of Don Carlos 220

CHAPTER VII.

THE VISIT OF THE QUEENS.—1557.

Emperor's good health . . . 221
Famine and sickness in the Vera . 222
Emperor's garden 223
His fondness for birds . . . 223
His poultry and fish-ponds . . 224
His care for domestic comforts . 224

PAGE

Quixada obtains leave of absence . 225
The friars become unruly . . 226
Quixada's return 226
His dislike to Yuste . . . 227
Death of Fray Juan de Ortega . 227
Lazarillo de Tormes 228
Question as to its authorship . 229
Turbulent peasants of Quacos . 230
Juan Gines Sepulveda visits Yuste 231
Don Luis de Avila 233
His house at Plasencia and its frescoes 233
His opinion of the Emperor in his *Commentaries* . . . 234
Emperor's partiality for him . 235
Fresco of battle of Renti . . 236
Remark of the Emperor on it . 236
Report of Emperor's removal to Navarre 237
Don Francisco Bolivar . . . 238
Don Martin de Avendaño . . 238
Message to Quixada from Mariquita de Eraso 239

PAGE

Presents to Emperor's larder from churchmen 239
Visits of Queens Eleanor and Mary 240
They arrive at Yuste, 28th September 240
The Queens look out for permanent abode 241
Guadalaxara 241
Correspondence with Duke of Infantado 241
Infanta Mary of Portugal . . 242
Jealousy between Portugal and Spain 243
Queens go to Badajoz, 15th Dec. . 244
Hurricane at Yuste . . . 245
Fray Fran. Borja sent by Princess-Regent to Lisbon . . . 245
Returns by way of Yuste . . 246
Emperor's confidence in him. . 247
Dispute between Borja's son and the Admiral of Aragon . . 247
Borja's judgment 248
Alms given to Borja on leaving . 248

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELEANOR.—1558.

Emperor's health declines . . 249
Burglary at Yuste 250
Dispute with corregidor of Plasencia 250
Don John de Acuña . . . 251
Philip's treaty with the Pope . 251
Emperor's dissatisfaction with it . 251
Duke of Alba and his share in the business 252
Affairs in Flanders. . . . 255
Spanish losses 256
Guise takes Calais 256
Emperor's mortification on receiving news 257
Report of pregnancy of Queen Mary of England and Spain . 258
Her death 258
Emperor's gout 258
Meeting between the Queens and the Infanta Mary of Portugal at Badajoz 259
Queens leave Badajoz . . . 260
Queen Eleanor taken ill at Talaverilla 261

PAGE

She dies, leaving her fortune to the Infanta of Portugal . . 262
Grief of Queen Mary and the Emperor 263–4
Luis de Avila visits him . . 265
Queen Mary at Yuste . . . 265
Envoys from Valladolid and Lisbon 265
Queen Mary removes to Xarandilla 266
Goes to Valladolid attended by Quixada 266
Emperor desires that she be consulted on public affairs . . 267
Princess-Regent refuses. . . 267
Emperor's scheme of finance. . 268
Seville bullion case . . . 268
Grand-Inquisitor Valdés refuses to attend body of Queen Juana to Granada 269
Emperor's health and occupation . 271
His fondness for religious ceremonies 271

PAGE

He gives the friars a picnic on St. Blas's Day 272
His attention to religious forms and fasts . . . 272–3
He flogs himself in the choir on Fridays in Lent . . . 274
His strictness with his Flemish servants 274
Good Friday 275
St. Matthias' Day celebrations . 275
Emperor's familiarity with the friars 276
Alonso Mudarra 276
Emperor dines in friars' refectory . 277
His good nature to his servants . 278
He is disturbed by women at convent gate. 279
The remedy 280
Renunciation of imperial crown, 3rd May 280
Emperor's joy at the intelligence, and consequent orders . . 280
His dislike of royal insignia . . 281

CHAPTER IX.

THE INQUISITION, ITS ALLIES AND ITS VICTIMS.—1558.

The Church in danger . . . 283
Church abuses and reform movement 284
Heretical books 287
Bibles 287
Spanish heretics not Protestants . 289
Causes of the repression of heresy in Spain 291–4
Measures of Grand-Inquisitor Valdés 294
Dr. Augustin Cazalla . . . 295
Letters and words of Emperor . 296

Fray Domingo de Roxas . . 297
Progress of the persecution . . 297
Anxiety of the Emperor . . 298
His letter to the Regent . . 299
His letter to the King, and its autograph postscript . . 299
The King's memorandum . . 300
Quixada's interview with the Grand-Inquisitor 300
The Inquisitor's measures detailed in letter to the Emperor. . 301
Censure of books 301

	PAGE
Catalogue of prohibited books	302
Dr. Mathys burns his Bible	303
Father Borja's son	304
Pompeyo Leoni	304
Fray Domingo de Guzman	305
Arrest of Const. Ponce de la Fuente	305
Execution of Dr. Cazalla	306
Of Fray Francisco de Roxas, and Fray Domingo de Guzman	307
Death of Const. Ponce de la Fuente	308
Emperor's hatred of heresy	308
His regrets for having spared life of Luther	309
Archbishopric of Toledo	310
Fray Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda made Archbishop	310
Account of him	311
Jealousy of Valdés	312
Carranza's reception at Valladolid	313
War in Flanders	314
Duke of Guise takes Thionville	315
Battle of Gravelines gained by the Spaniards	316
Turkish fleet on coast of Spain	317
At Negropont	318
Reggio sacked	318
Sorrento pillaged	318
Menorca attacked	319
Ciudadella sacked	319
Measures of defence	320
Perpignan, Andalusia, Catalonia, Valencia	320
Emperor's distress about Ciudadella	320
Return of Quixada to Yuste with his wife and Don John of Austria	321
Illness of the Regent	322
Her proposal to change the capital of Spain	323
Affair of the Adelantado of Canary	323
Death of the prior of Yuste	324
Emperor refuses to interfere in election of his successor	325
Fray Martin de Angulo appointed	325
Visits of Don Luis de Avila	325
The Bishop of Avila	325
Count of Oropesa	325
Garcilasso de la Vega	326
Don Pedro Manrique	327
Don Pedro Giron	327
Fray Francisco Borja	327
The Emperor's *Memoirs*	328
His anxiety as to his treatment by historians	329
Ocampo	329
Sepulveda	330
Courtly reply of Borja	331
Recollections of Borja in the Vera	332

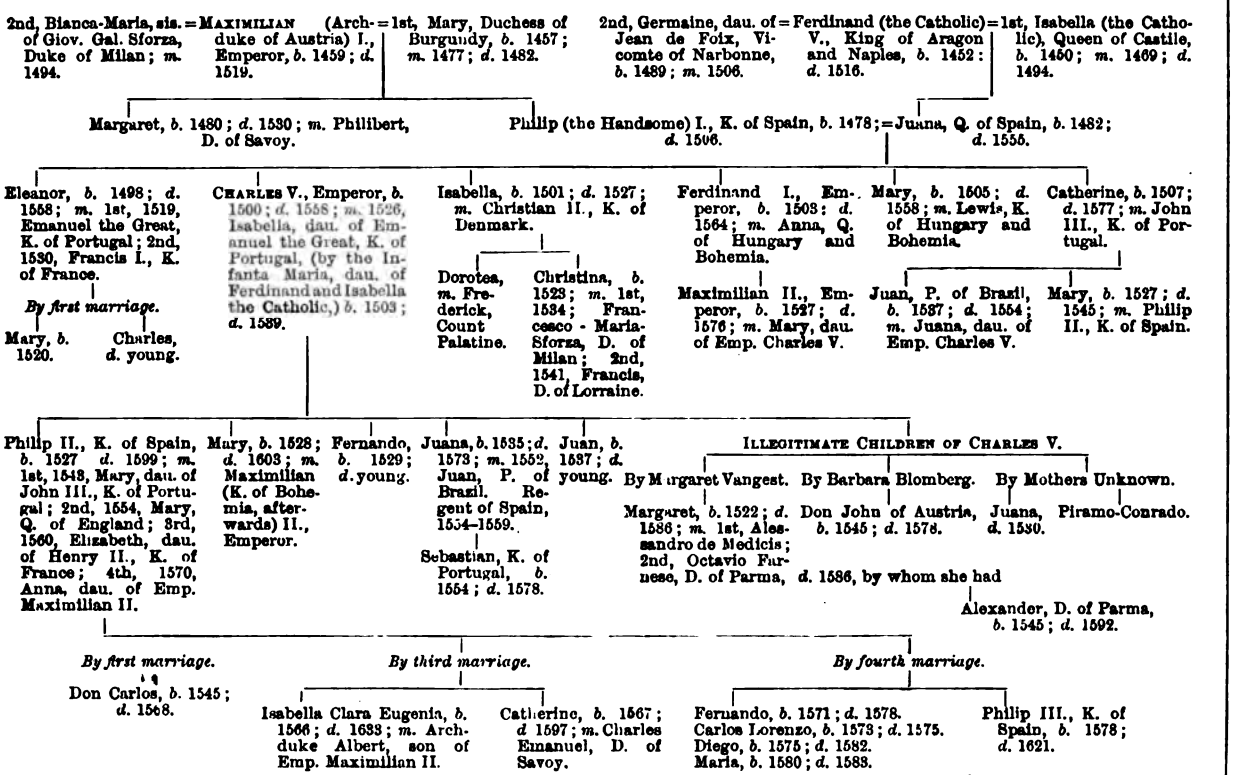
CHAPTER X.

THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR.—1558.

Emperor's health in spring and summer	333-4
Physician becomes alarmed in August	335
Emperor's attention to religious rites	336
Performs his own obsequies, 30th August	337
Taken ill next day	339
Meditations on his wife's portrait and other pictures	339
Laid on his deathbed	340

	PAGE
Details of his illness	340
Sept. 1. Making of his will	340
Sept. 2. Dr. Cornelio sent for	341
Sept. 3. Slight improvement	341
Sept. 4	341
Sept. 5. Physic	342
Sept. 6. Delirium.—Letters	342-3
Sept. 7	343
Sept. 8. Dr. Cornelio arrives	343
Garcilasso brings despatches	343
Codicil to will	343
Sept. 9. News of defeat of Count of Alcaudete in Africa, not broken to Emperor	344-5
Emperor signs codicil of will	346
Its recommendation to the King to put down heresy	346
Regla's suggestions regarding Don John of Austria	346
Sept. 10. Queen of Hungary consents to go to Flanders	347
Sept. 11. Crisis in the fever	347
Sept. 12	347
Sept. 13. Patient worse	348
Sept. 15	349
Sept. 16	349
Sept. 17. Little hope	349
Sept. 18	350
Sept. 19. Emperor receives extreme unction	351
Sept. 20. His last private conference with Quixada	352
He insists on receiving the Eucharist	353
His devoutness	353
The Archbishop of Toledo arrives	354
Closing scene	356
Sept. 21. Death	357
Grief of Quixada	359
Curiosity of watching friars	359
Preparations for interment	360
Body embalmed	360
Funeral services and rites	360
Funeral sermon by Villalva	361
Sermons by Fray Luis de S. Gregorio and Fray Francisco de Angulo	363
Remarks on character of Charles	364
His abdication and its causes	366
Emperor's device and motto	370
His love of monks and convents	371
It descends to his children	372
Ferdinand	372
Maximilian	372
Philip II.	372
Don John of Austria	372
Philip III.	372
Philip IV.	373
Charles II.	373
Queen Juana	373
Archduchess Margaret	373
Infanta Isabella	373
Queen Margaret	374
Louis XIV.	374
Empress Maria Theresa	374
Charles's love of Yuste	375
His disappointments there	375
His prudence	376
Dulness of his writings	377
His popular manners	378
His religious moderation in the world	379
His bigotry in the cloister	380
The *Carolea* of Sempere	381
The *Carlo Famoso* of Çapata	382
Extracts from the *Carlo Famoso*	382
Mention of Don John of Austria in the poem	384

The immediate Ancestors and Descendants of the Emperor Charles V., and his Brothers and Sisters.



THE CLOISTER LIFE

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

CHAPTER I.

THE IMPERIAL ABDICATION.

CHAP. I.

Emperor's intention to retire.

IT is not possible to determine the precise time at which the Emperor Charles V. formed his celebrated resolution to exchange the cares and honours of a throne for the religious seclusion of a cloister. It is certain, however, that this resolution was formed many years before it was carried into effect. With his

CHAP. I.
1538–51.

Empress, Isabella of Portugal, who died in 1538, Charles had agreed that so soon as state affairs and the ages of their children should permit, they were to retire for the remainder of their days—he into a convent of friars, and she into a nunnery. In 1542, he confided his design to the Duke of Gandia; and in 1546, it had been whispered at court, and was mentioned by Bernardo Navagiero, the sharp-eared envoy of Venice, in a report to the Doge.[1] Lorenzo Pires, the Portuguese envoy to Spain after the Emperor's retirement, asserts that Charles himself told him at that time that he had resolved to retire from the cares of power as early as 1535, after his triumphant return from the conquest of Tunis.[2]

Philip made Duke of Milan.

Death of his first wife.

In 1548, Philip, heir-apparent of the Spanish monarchy, was sent for by his father to receive the oath of allegiance from the States of the Netherlands; and in 1551, he was invested with the duchy of Milan. When only in his eighteenth year, the prince had been left a widower by the death of his wife, Mary, daughter of John III. of Portugal. On his return to Spain, he entered into negotiations for the hand of a second Portuguese bride, his cousin,

[1] *Relatione*, Luglio, 1546; printed in *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, edited by Rev. W. Bradford, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 475.

[2] Mignet, *Charles Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au monastère de Yuste*, 8vo, Paris, 1854, p. 6.

the Infanta Mary,[1] daughter of his father's sister Eleanor, by the late King, Don Emanuel. After delays unusual even in Peninsular diplomacy, these negotiations had almost reached a successful issue, when the Emperor, on the 30th July 1553, from Bruxelles, addressed Philip in a letter which produced a very memorable effect on the politics of Europe. Mary Tudor, he wrote, had inherited the crown of England, and had given him an early hint of her gracious willingness to become his second Empress. For himself, this tempting opportunity must be foregone. "Were the dominions of that kingdom greater even than they are," he said, "they should not move me from my purpose—a purpose of quite another kind."[2] But he desired his son to take the matter into his serious consideration, and to weigh well the merits of the English princess before he resolved to conclude any other match. In her childhood, the Lady Mary had been betrothed to the Emperor, and she was now eleven years older than his son. But Philip, who was preparing to marry an infanta of thirty-three, was quite willing

Negotiations for his second marriage.

Mary Tudor offers the Emperor her hand.

He transfers it to Philip.

[1] Her life has been written by Fr. Miguel Pacheco, *Vida de la serenissima Infanta Doña Maria hija del Rey D. Manuel, fundadera de la insigne capilla mayor del convento de N^ra. Señora de la Luz;* fol., Lisboa, 1675.

[2] "Pero bien os puedo asegurar que otros muchos estados mas principales no me doblaran ni moveran del proposito en que estoi, que es bien diferente." Emp. to Philip II., 30th July 1553.

CHAP. I.

1553.

to transfer his affections to a queen of thirty-seven. Usually slow to decide, he showed in this matter a promptitude of decision which proves how early in life he deserved the title, afterwards given to him by historians, of the Prudent. Concurring in the Emperor's opinion, that one or other of them ought to marry the Queen of England, and seeing that matrimony was distasteful to his father, he professed his readiness to take that duty on himself. He had, happily, not absolutely concluded the Portuguese match, and he would therefore at once proceed to break it off, on the plea that the dowry promised was insufficient. Father and son being thus of one mind, they opened the diplomatic campaign[1] which ended in adding another kingdom to the hymeneal conquests for which the house of Austria was already famous,[2] and in placing Philip, as king-consort, on the throne of England. On the same day when Charles suggested to his son the propriety of break-

Breaks off match with the Infanta Mary of Portugal.

[1] In the *Statesman*, Dec. 19, 1858, it is stated that Sir W. Davenant, in his *Peace, War, and Alliances*, asserts that Charles V. sent over 6,200,000 crowns to bribe members of the House of Commons to vote for Queen Mary Tudor's marriage with Philip II.

[2] And so tersely celebrated in the epigram of Matthias Corvinus—

"Bella gerant alii; tu felix Austria nube!
Nam quæ Mars aliis dat tibi regna Venus."

"Fight those who will; let well-starr'd Austria wed,
And conquer kingdoms in the marriage bed."

In the *Reader*, 29th July 1865, it is said: "Dr. Buchman of Berlin asks the question, Upon what authority does William Stirling, in *The Cloister*

ing faith with his favourite sister's only child, he signed the first order for money to be spent in building his retreat at Yuste, a Jeronymite convent in Estremadura in Spain; and as soon as the treachery had been completed, and the prize secured, he began seriously to prepare for a life of piety and repose.

Emperor's feeble health.

Rest and quiet were indeed urgently demanded by the state of his health. His constitution, naturally feeble, had long been undermined by violent attacks of gout. In 1550, that disease, flying to his head, had threatened him with sudden death. In 1552, when his army of sixty thousand men lay before Metz, and all his thoughts were bent on that celebrated siege, it was with difficulty, when he visited the lines, that he could sit his Turkish charger for a quarter of an hour at a time; his face was pale and thin, his eyes sunken, and his hair and beard were observed to have whitened with remarkable rapidity.[1] Early in 1554, his health and spirits were so much shaken, that there was some colour for

Exaggerated reports of it.

Life of Charles V., attribute to Matthias Corvinus the well-known distich, 'Bella gerant alii,' &c., seeing that Katona makes no mention of it under Corvinus?"

I fear I had no better authority than the *Biographie Universelle.* I do not see the distich noticed in Vehse's *Memoirs of the Court of Austria.*

[1] This is not borne out by Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles Quint*, 2 tomes 8vo, Bruxelles, 1854, tom. i., introduction, p. 26. "Ses généraux lui trouvèrent une meilleure mine qu'il n'avait eu depuis dix ans." *Lettres de Charles de Tisnacq, du Comte d'Arenberg et du Comte d'Egmont à la Reine de Hongrie*, 20, 24, and 25 Nov. 1551.

CHAP. I. 1554-5.

the deplorable report of them which the French ambassador was instructed to make to the Sultan at Constantinople. Solyman the Magnificent was to be told that his great Christian rival had lost the use of an arm and a leg; that he was utterly unfit for business, and spent his time in taking watches to pieces and putting them together again; that he was gradually going out of his mind; and that his sister, the Queen of Hungary, permitted him to be seen only at the far end of a long gallery, where he showed himself sitting in his chair, and looking more like a statue than a man.[1] In spite, however, of gout, dyspepsia, and horological pursuits, he succeeded, greatly to the chagrin of France, in adding the crown matrimonial of England to the many diadems which were to be worn by his son Philip. But had he much longer continued to bear the burden of supreme power, there is little doubt that the hand of death would soon have made Mary Tudor Queen of Castile.

Philip made King of Naples.

Is recalled from Windsor to Bruxelles.

That Philip might meet his English bride on equal terms, the Emperor ceded to him, in 1554, the title of King of Naples. In the autumn of 1555, he recalled him from Windsor to receive yet higher and more substantial honours, and to assist at the

[1] Ribier, *Lettres et Memoires d'etat sous les Regnes de François I., Henri II., et François II.*, 2 vols. fol., Paris, 1677, ii. p. 485.

most remarkable solemnities of a century prolific of great pageants as well as of great events. The theatre of these solemnities was the hall of the castle of Caudenberg,[1] the ancient palace of the Dukes of Brabant, a mass of buildings enclosing spacious courts and tilt-yards,[2] and belonging to various dates and styles, from the towering donjon keep of Duke John II.,[3] to the airy portal, pierced and pinnacled in the richest Gothic of the days of Charles the Bold. Here,[4] on the 23rd October, Charles held a chapter of the Golden Fleece, and invested Philip with the grand mastership of that illustrious order. Two days later, on the

Is made Grand Master of the Golden Fleece.

[1] The palace and park of Bruxelles are thus described by Roger Ascham :—

"The Emperor's palace is overmatched with many of the King's houses in England ; it is built fair of freestone by Duke Charles of Burgoyne that married Margaret, King Edward the IV.'s sister. The arms of Burgoyne and England be joined together in very solemn work. This palace hath a park joined to it, with high walls of stone, standing within the walls of the city, full of white bulls, full of trees and yet no other the rest but fair walnut trees and apple trees." Letter to Edw. Raven, dated Augsburg, January 20, 1561 ; *Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, ed. by Dr. Giles, 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1864–5, vol. i. part ii. p. 245. Ascham was at Bruxelles 4th and 5th October 1550.

[2] *Relazione* di G. Contarini ; *Relazioni degli Ambasciatori Veneti al Senato*, serie i. vol. ii., Firenze, 1840, p. 22.

[3] The building was destroyed by a fire, which broke out on the night of the 3rd or 4th February 1731. It occupied the site of the present church of Caudenberg, and of the Place-royale. Th. Juste, *L'Abdication de Charles Quint*, 8vo, Liège, 1851, p. 12, note ; an agreeable work, reprinted in a separate form from the *Progrès Pacifique*.

[4] The best and most minute account of the arrangement of the hall is in *Sumario de la forma de que cesó el Emperador cuando hizo cesion des Estados (los Paises Bajos) Documentos ineditos*, tom. vii. pp. 524–9.

CHAP. I.

1555.

Emperor abdicates the sovereignty of the Netherlands.

Company and ceremonial.

25th October, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the States-General of the Netherlands appeared in the same hall by their deputies, to witness the Emperor's abdication of the dominions of the house of Burgundy. They took their seats on benches placed in the form of a half circle, in front of a decorated dais, on which stood three chairs beneath a canopy of state. On each side of this dais were rows of seats, those on the right being reserved for the knights of the Golden Fleece, and those on the left for royal and noble guests. Archers of the guard and halberdiers stood sentry at the doors and kept order in the body of the hall, which was densely crowded with spectators. The walls were covered with magnificent tapestries, on which the rich looms of Flanders had wrought the story of the Fleece of Gold, and the institution of the order by Philip the Good. When the deputies had taken their places according to their rank, the doors which communicated with the palace chapel were thrown open, and the Emperor appeared. The whole assembly rose and uncovered as he approached. Supporting himself on the right with a staff, and leaning with his left hand on the shoulder of William, Prince of Orange, he slowly made his way across the dais, and seated himself in the central chair. He was closely followed by his son Philip, by his sisters, Mary, Queen of Hungary, and Eleanor, Queen of

France, and by his nephew, Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria. After these came his beautiful niece, Christina, Duchess of Lorraine, his nephew the gallant Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, and the Pope's nuncio, heading a splendid throng of cardinals, ambassadors, nobles, and knights of the Fleece. Sir John Mason was ambassador from the Queen of England to the court at Bruxelles, and another Englishman of higher historical fame was also there; Sir Thomas Gresham, then the Queen's Factor at Antwerp.[1] The King of England and Naples seated himself in the chair on the Emperor's right hand, while the Queen of Hungary took that on his left. When all were placed, the usher of the council called over the names of the deputies of the provinces, and asked if they were furnished with the necessary powers. Their answers made, the Emperor ordered the Councillor Philibert de Bruxelles to state to the assembly the reasons which had induced him to abdicate the throne. In a pompous oration, that functionary set forth that ill-health had rendered the burden of power intolerable to their master, and compelled him to seek the milder climate of Spain; and he expatiated on the good fortune of the Netherlands in being thus called upon to transfer their allegiance

[1] *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, by J. W. Burgon, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1839, vol. i. p. 173.

CHAP. I.
1555.

to a prince in all respects so admirable as the heir-apparent of Castile. The Emperor then rose, slowly and painfully, leaning heavily on the arm of the Prince of Orange. Holding in his hand a paper of notes, to which he occasionally referred, he delivered in French, in the midst of the profoundest silence, a speech, of which the substance, if not the exact words, has been preserved.[1]

Emperor's speech.

"Some of you," he said, "will remember that on the 5th January last, forty years had elapsed since the day when, in this very hall, I received, at the age of fifteen, from my paternal grandfather the Emperor Maximilian, the sovereignty of the Belgian provinces. My maternal grandfather, King Ferdinand the Catholic, dying soon after, there devolved on me the care of a heritage which the state of my mother's health did not permit her to govern. At the age of seventeen, therefore, I crossed the sea to take possession of the kingdom of Spain. At nineteen, on the death of the Emperor, I ventured to aspire to the imperial crown, from a desire, not of extending my dominions, but of the more effectually providing

[1] The official account of the abdication, and various documents connected with it, ten in all, preserved in the royal archives of Belgium, have been published by M. Gachard, in his *Analectes Belgiques*, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1830, vol. i. pp. 70–106. The Emperor's speech is unfortunately not officially reported, nor do the original notes exist, but there is an account of it drawn up "*par quelque bon personnaige estant à la dicte assemblée*," which must have been esteemed a correct one, or it would hardly have been placed in the archives.

for the safety of Germany, and of my other kingdoms, and especially of the Belgian provinces, and in the hope of maintaining peace amongst Christian nations, and of uniting their forces in defending the Catholic faith against the Turk.

"These designs I have not been able completely to execute, owing, in part, to the outbreak of the German heresy, and in part to the jealousy of rival powers. But with God's help I have never ceased to resist my enemies, and to endeavour to fulfil the task imposed on me. In the course of my expeditions, sometimes to make war, sometimes to make peace, I have travelled nine times into High Germany, six times into Spain, seven times into Italy, four times into France, twice into England, and twice into Africa, accomplishing in all forty long journeys, without counting visits of less importance to my various states. I have crossed the Mediterranean eight times, and the Spanish sea twice. I will not now allude to my journey from Spain to the Netherlands, undertaken, as you know, for reasons sufficiently grave.[1] My frequent absence from these provinces obliged me to intrust their government to my sister Mary, who is here present. I know, and the States-General know also, how well she has discharged her duties. Although I have

[1] To suppress the insurrection at Ghent in 1540.

CHAP. I. 1555.

been engaged in many wars, into none of them have I gone willingly; and in bidding you farewell, nothing is so painful to me as not to have been able to leave you a firm and assured peace. Before my last expedition into Germany, considering the deplorable state of my health, I had already contemplated relieving myself of the burden of public business; but the troubles which agitated Christendom induced me to put off my design, in the hope of restoring peace, and because, not being so enfeebled as I now am, I felt it incumbent on me to sacrifice to the welfare of my people what remained to me of strength and life. I had almost attained the end of my endeavours, when the sudden attack made upon me by the King of France and some of the German princes forced me again to take up arms. I have done what I can to defeat the league against me; but the issue of war is in the hand of God, who gives victory or takes it away at His pleasure. Let us be thankful to Providence that we have not to deplore any of those great reverses which leave deep traces behind them, but, on the contrary, have obtained some victories of which our children may cherish the remembrance. In entering on my retirement I entreat you to be faithful to your prince, and to maintain a good understanding amongst yourselves. Above all, resist those new sects which infest the adjoining countries; and if heresy should pene-

trate within your frontier, hasten to extirpate it, or evil will overtake you. For myself, I must confess that I have been led into many errors, whether by youthful inexperience, or by the pride of riper age, or by some other weakness inherent in human nature. But I declare that never, knowingly and willingly, have I done wrong or violence, nor authorised such deeds in others. If, notwithstanding, such offences may be justly chargeable upon me, I solemnly assure you that I have committed them unknown to myself and against my own desire; and I entreat those whom I may thus have wronged, both those who are present to-day and those who are absent, to grant me their forgiveness."

"And here," says the English envoy,[1] in a despatch narrating the scene, "he broke into weeping, whereunto, besides the dolefulness of the matter, I think he was much provoked by seeing the whole company to do the like before; there being, in my opinion, not one man in the whole assembly, stranger or other, that during the time of a good piece of his oration poured not out abundantly tears, some more, some less." Compelled by his emotions to pause in his address, the Emperor sat down to rest. Queen Eleanor took the opportunity of hand-

[1] Sir John Mason, despatch quoted by J. W. Burgon; *Life and Times of Sir Thomas Gresham*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1839, vol. i. pp. 175-6.

CHAP. I.
1555.

ing him a small cup of cordial. Having touched it with his lips, he again rose, and turning to his son, who stood uncovered by his side, addressed him to this effect.

"Were you put in possession of these provinces by my death, so fair a heritage might well give me a claim on your gratitude. But now that I give them up to you of my own will, dying as it were before the time for your advantage, I expect that your care and love of your people will repay me in the way such a boon deserves. Other kings reckon themselves fortunate to be able, at the hour of death, to place their crowns on their children's heads; I wish to enjoy this happiness in my life, and to see you reign. My conduct will have few imitators, as it has few examples; but it will be praised if you justify my confidence, if you do not decline in the wisdom you have hitherto displayed, and if you continue to be the strenuous defender of the Catholic faith, and of law and justice, which are the strength and the bulwarks of empire. May you also have a son to whom you may, in turn, transmit your power!"

With these words the Emperor tenderly embraced his son, who was now kneeling before him, and kissing his hand. Placing his hand on the head of his successor, Charles V., with tears in his eyes, bestowed on him his paternal blessing, and

committed him to the protection of God. Philip's cold heart was melted at this solemn moment, and he also shed tears, which likewise flowed plentifully both in the ranks of the noble and knightly spectators, and amongst the populace in the centre of the hall.

Jacques Maes's speech.

The Emperor and his son having resumed their seats, Jacques Maes, an eminent lawyer and syndic of Antwerp, stood up to answer the abdicating monarch in the name of the States-General. His speech was remarkable for long-winded magniloquence and gross adulation. Charles was described as the greatest of monarchs, his Flemish people as the most devoted and peaceable of subjects. As for Philip, that worthy image of a great sire was declared to be so marvellously endowed by nature, that had the States-General been free to choose their lord, they must have preferred him to any other prince in Christendom.

Speech of Philip.

Rising from his chair, the new sovereign bowed to the assembly, replied in a few words expressive of his regret for his imperfect French, which compelled him to speak through the mouth of the Bishop of Arras, to whom, however, he had imparted his wishes and his feelings.

Speech of the Bishop of Arras.

Anthony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, was the able statesman afterwards so powerful and so famous as Cardinal Granvelle. His address was well suited to the occasion, being brief, clear, and dignified. In

CHAP. I.
1555.

the King's name he assured the States-General that His Majesty had accepted the sovereignty only out of respect to the express command of his father. He solemnly promised to employ all his power in governing them and defending them well, and he

hoped that he should find himself the ruler of a loyal people. He would remain among them as long, and he would return to them as often, as affairs required his presence. He would specially watch over the maintenance of the Catholic religion, justice, their

PHILIP II.

old laws, privileges and immunities, and in all things would show himself a good prince, as he hoped that they would show themselves good subjects.

Speech of Mary, Queen of Hungary.

When the Bishop ended his harangue, the third personage in the royal group beneath the canopy rose to address the assembly. Mary, Queen of Hungary, for twenty-four years the able and indefatigable ruler of the Netherlands, announced that she also was about to resign the delegated authority which she had so long wielded. The Emperor and the King, said she, had at last permitted her to pass into Spain, there to serve God in the tranquillity which her age and her fatigues demanded. Had her knowledge and capacity been equal to the zeal and fidelity with which she had devoted herself to her duties, never would sovereign have been better served, nor country better governed. While she begged for indulgence and forgiveness for the errors which she had committed, she acknowledged that these would have been far more numerous, but for the assistance she had received from the counsellors now around her, and from those who had gone before them. Entreating the Emperor, the King, and the deputies to accept her services in the spirit in which they had been rendered, she desired to carry with her the goodwill of the Belgian people, and to assure them of her affection, and of her earnest

CHAP. I.

1555.

desire for their welfare, to which any power she might possess would ever be directed.[1]

Jacques Maes's reply.

The eloquence and flattery of Jacques Maes were again put in motion. In his own diffuse style, and in the name of the States-General, he assured the Queen of Hungary that her government had given universal satisfaction, and he thanked her for the affection towards her late subjects which she had just expressed.

Emperor signs abdication.

The Emperor then signed and sealed the formal deed of abdication; and declaring Philip invested with the sovereignty of the Netherlands, he slowly retired from the hall, followed by his family and court, and leaving the audience deeply moved with a scene, which, more than any other event of an eventful reign, is calculated to affect the imagination and dwell in the remembrance of distant posterity.[2]

---

[1] Queen Mary's speech is printed by M. Gachard, from a minute in her own handwriting, in the royal archives of Belgium.

[2] Of the Emperor's abdication there are the following representations which I have seen:—

The two old and interesting prints found in the Belgian collection, which usually begins with the expedition to Tunis (Kurze Erzeichniss, &c.), and consists chiefly of battles and sieges in the Low Countries and France, from 1574 to 1600. The *first* represents Philip II. kneeling before his father; the *second* the Emperor walking away.

Picture in the Museum at Amsterdam by Hieronymus Franck (le Vieux). *Notice des Tableaux du Musée* [1876, No. 113], where it is described. The cartouche, which gives the subject of the picture, says also "*ex inven. D. Petri de Havincort H. Franc.*" It is a very brilliant and agreeable picture in the style of Floris, whose pupil Franck was.

Tapestry in the Hôtel de Ville at Bruxelles, which is probably not

CHAP. I.

1556.

Emperor abdicates Sicilian and Spanish crowns.

In the year following, on the 16th January 1556, in the same place, and with a similar ceremonial, he signed and sealed the act of abdication of his Sicilian and Spanish kingdoms, and their dependencies in Africa and the New World; and on the 16th August he placed in the hands of the Prince of Orange, who received it with tears, a deed of renunciation of the imperial crown to be laid before the Diet of the empire. It was already understood that the Electors were to confer the

---

older than the end of the seventeenth century, and which represents Charles V. in absurdly gaudy costume.

The fine picture by Louis Gallait, which attracted much attention in London during the Great Exhibition of 1862.

There is also a print in the edition of Sandoval's *Historia del Emp. Carlos V.*, 2 vols. fol., Antwerp, 1681.

An oval medal also commemorates the abdication of Charles V. It bears the head of Philip II., and on the reverse the figure of Atlas supporting the world, with the motto "UT . QUIESCAT . ATLAS." It is engraved in *Sylloge numismatum elegantiorum quæ diversi Imperatores, Reges, Principes, Comites, Respublicæ diversas ob causas ab anno* 1550 *ad annum* 1600 *cudi fecerunt;* opera et studio Joan. Jacob. Luckii, fol. Argentor, 1620, p. 177.

In Gallait's picture there are several points in which historical truth has either escaped the painter's researches or been sacrificed by him to what he considered pictorial effect. The Emperor is dressed in robes of cloth-of-gold clasped with a jewelled brooch. It is not likely that he wore anything of the kind, and it does not appear to have been noticed by either the English or Venetian envoys. The introduction of the imperial crown, held on a cushion by a red-robed ecclesiastic, is also of very questionable propriety. He was not resigning that crown, but the crown of Burgundy; and even had he been more fond of pageantry than he was, he would hardly have paraded it at that time, when it could but remind many of the spectators of his unsuccessful attempts to obtain it for Philip II. Five persons in red dresses like those of Cardinals, one with the hat, appear amongst the spectators. Who were they, and was any Car-

CHAP. I.

1556.

Wish to make Philip Emperor.

Opposed by Ferdinand, King of Romans.

vacant dignity on Charles's brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and actual sovereign of the archduchies of Austria. To obtain the diadem of the Cæsars for his son Philip had long been one of the dreams of Charles's ambition. Ferdinand, however, would neither waive his claims, nor even consent to the proposal that Philip should succeed him, to be succeeded in his turn by Ferdinand's son, Maximilian, King of Bohemia. The discussion of the question had for some time caused a coolness between the

---

dinal at all present? One of them (the tall man with papers) is obviously meant for Granvelle, who was not Cardinal till some years after. Possibly his dress may be a little more violet than the rest, and that might suit his church robes as Bishop of Arras. I should also like to know the authority for dressing the two Queens in white, and for giving galleries to the hall. The little print of the scene is much more likely to be right in this point than any later source of evidence. The small finished sketch of the picture is at Frankfort a/M, in the Städel collection (No. 350, Louis Gallait) [*Catalogue* 1879, No. 460], and from it this note has been made. Sept. 2, 1864.

In the *Cancionero General*, 1557, there is a romance entitled "Descripcion del modo como hizo renuncia de sus reinos en España y tierras en Flandes e Italia el emperador Carlos V., y modo como recibe Felipe II. las coronas que le deja su padre. Conducta de la emperatriz de los estados y de los grandes en aquel acto." The "emperatriz" is an error in the title, as she does not appear in the romance; and is mentioned probably in mistake for the Queen of Hungary. It has no poetic merit or pretension, being a mere rhymed account of the transaction, which it narrates faithfully enough. It begins—

Carlos quinto de este nombre	Emperador residia
En la villa de Bruzelas	Que pocas veces salia.

It will be found in Depping's *Romancero Castellano*, con notas de Ant. Alcalá Galiano, 2 vols. 8vo, Leipsique, 1844, vol. i. p. 413, No. 295. I have translated it in *The Chief Victories of the Emperor Charles the Fifth*, fol. London, 1870, p. 66.

Emperor and the King of the Romans; and Charles was especially offended with Ferdinand for seeking to strengthen his position by the support of the Protestant Electors. But the design being abandoned as hopeless, it was now the earnest wish of the abdicating monarch that the subsequent formalities should be accomplished with all practicable speed. "Should the Electors," he wrote to Ferdinand,[1] "refuse their consent to the transfer of the title, which God forbid, my ambassadors are instructed to demand that I be at least permitted to resign to you the entire administration of affairs. My conscience being thus discharged of its burden, I will keep the title, although, if any way can be found of laying even that aside, it is the thing which I most desire, and in which your good offices will give me most contentment."

Emperor's wish to lay aside title.

When Charles laid down the sceptre, he also quitted the palace, of his Burgundian ancestors. He chose for his retreat a small house, where part of his childhood had been spent, in the park of Bruxelles, not then the trim urban pleasance which Maria Theresa and modern taste have made it, but a skirt of the wild forest of Soigne, well peopled with deer. This pavilion, of one storey and a few

Retires to a house in park of Bruxelles.

[1] On the 8th August 1556. The letter occurs in the *Correspondens des Kaisers Karl V.*, von Dr. Karl Lanz, 3 vols. 8vo, Leipzig, 1844, iii. pp. 708–9.

CHAP. I.
1556.

rooms, for a century afterwards was known as the house of Charles V.; its site, near the Louvain gate, is now covered by the national or legislative palace of Belgium. Here the retired monarch lived for many months, much tormented with gout, but giving close attention to the winding-up of his affairs with the world. In the previous autumn the King of the Romans had negotiated at Augsburg a peace with the Protestants of Germany. In the spring of 1556, under the arbitration of the English Queen, the terms of a long truce between the house of Valois and the house of Austria were agreed upon at the abbey of Vaucelles. In this truce the Emperor took the deepest interest and an active part; hoping that it might be the foundation of that solid and lasting peace in which, as he told the States-General, it had been his wish to retire from the world. While thus engaged, he seemed to be rehearsing the existence which he had so long planned for himself in the distant convent in Spain. His sole counsellor and confidant was the Bishop of Arras. He was waited on by a few gentlemen of grave and venerable aspect and clad in black; and he inhabited only a couple of rooms sombrely tapestried with black cloth.

Visited by Admiral de Coligny.

Here, on Palm Sunday, 1556, he received the Admiral de Coligny, ambassador of Henry II. of France, sent to Bruxelles to witness the ratification

by the King of Spain of the truce between the crowns. The Frenchman and his brilliant following nearly filled the small room in which they found the Emperor, dressed in a citizen's black gown of Florence serge and a Mantua bonnet, sitting beside his black writing-table. When the Most Christian King's letter was put into his hand, it was with some difficulty that his gouty fingers broke the broad official seal. "What will you say of me, my Lord Admiral," said he; "am I not a brave cavalier to break a lance with, I—who can hardly open a letter?" After hearing the letter read by the Bishop of Arras, and discussing its contents, he asked the ambassador about his master's health, and whether he was getting grey. On learning that a few white hairs were already visible on the handsome head of Henry II., he said that he well remembered the time when he had first observed upon his own those unpleasant symptoms of decay. It was at Naples, after his return from Tunis, when he was being dressed and perfumed to pay his court to the ladies. At first he ordered his barber to pluck out the intruders. But for every white hair thus removed, he soon found that three more made their appearance; and he doubted not that, if he had persevered in the depilatory process, he would soon have been as white as a swan.

Brusquet, the famous jester of four kings of

CHAP. I.
1556.
Jests of Brusquet.

France,[1] had come in the train of the Admiral. Recognising him, the Emperor asked him how he did; to which Brusquet replied that His Majesty was too gracious to notice one of the worms of the earth. "Have you forgotten," said Charles, "what passed between you and the Marshal de Strozzi on the day of spurs?"[2] alluding to a battle in which that famous general had found his spurs of more use than his sword. "I remember it well," retorted Brusquet; "it was at the very time when your Majesty bought those fine rubies and carbuncles which you wear on your fingers," pointing to the Emperor's hands, knotted and disfigured with gout. At this rough personal thrust Charles laughed heartily—a laugh in which all the company joined—and said, "I would not for a good deal have lost the lesson you have taught me, not to meddle with a man who looks like a harmless idiot, as you look,

---

[1] Francis I., Henry II., Francis II., and Charles IX. Brantome gives an account of Brusquet and his witticisms, in his *Discours sur le Mareschal Strozzi; Œuvres*, 8 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1787, iv. p. 435. He kept what he called a book of fools, and he inscribed in it the name of his master, Francis I., after Charles V. had been permitted to pass through France on his way to Ghent. "But what," said Francis, "if I allow him to return as securely as he came?" "Nay," said Brusquet, "if he ventures himself again in your power, I will erase your name, and put his in its place."

[2] Alluding probably to the battle, near Sienna, between Strozzi and Marignano, before the long siege of Sienna, in which the French defended themselves for two years against the Emperor and Spaniards. See Capelloni, *Vita di Andrea Doria*, 4to, Vinegia, 1565, p. 168.

and assuredly are not." He then courteously dismissed the Admiral and his companions; and, going to an open window, stood there, watching the cavalcade as it went glittering through the park, a well-timed appearance which dispelled a rumour that had been circulated of his being at the point of death.[1]

The Emperor at Sterrebeke.

Sometime afterwards, a contagious malady breaking out at Bruxelles, the Emperor, on the 29th June, removed for awhile from his home in the park to the castle of Sterrebeke, a few miles off, where he remained until the 15th July.[2] He continued to linger in Flanders, partly on account of the difficulties which lay in the way of his renunciation of the imperial crown, but mainly from a desire to see his daughter, Mary, wife of his nephew, Maximilian, King of Bohemia. These royal personages being detained in Germany until July, his departure for Spain, which had been fixed for the month of June, was postponed until August.

Arrival of Maximilian and Mary of Bohemia.

When Maximilian and Mary arrived, Bruxelles became for a few days the scene of tourneys, banquets, and other sumptuous festivities. These ended,

Journey to the coast.

the Emperor began his journey, and arrived on

[1] Ribier, *Lettres et Memoires d'etat: Voyage de M. l'Amiral*, ii. p. 633.

[2] [Gachard, *Retraite et Mort de Charles Quint*, 3 vols. 8vo, Bruxelles, 1854–5, introduction, pp. 129–31].

CHAP. I. 1556.

the 13th August at his favourite city of Ghent. There he was lodged, for ten or twelve days, in the hotel of Ravenstein, the mansion of an old historic race, standing opposite the ancient palace of the Counts of Flanders, in which he had first seen the light.

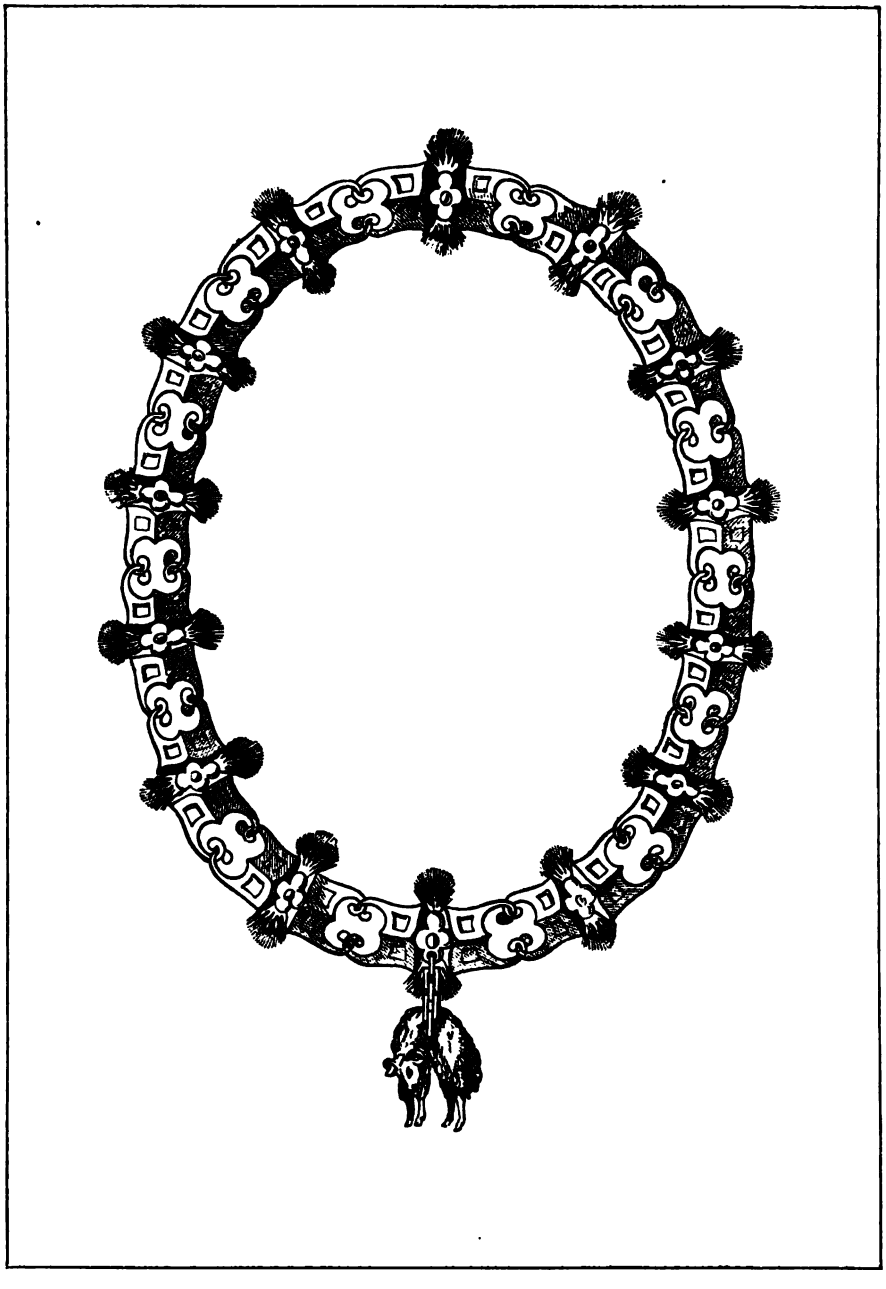
On the 26th August, he gave a farewell audience to the foreign ambassadors who had followed him from Bruxelles. He then took the road to Flushing, where the fleet had assembled to convey him to Spain. Besides the Queens of France and Hungary, who were to be the companions of his voyage, he was attended to the coast by Philip II., Mary, Queen of Bohemia, and many of the nobles of the Netherlands. A good many days were spent at Flushing, or at Zuitburg, in waiting for favourable weather. Amongst the last things done on shore by the Emperor was to write to his brother Ferdinand a long letter of advice as to the manner of dealing with the Electoral Diet in order to procure its unconditional acceptance of the act of abdication. He concluded it in these words: "I am all ready, waiting with the Queens my sisters, until it shall please God to send us a fair wind to set sail, being determined to let no opportunity slip, but to take the earliest occasion of proceeding on our voyage, which I pray God to prosper.—From Zuitburg, the 12th September

Emperor's letter to Ferdinand.

1556."[1] The royal party embarked on the following day.

CHAP. I.
1556.
Embarks for Spain.

[1] Lanz, *Correspondenz*, iii. p. 712. The place is supposed to be the village now called Wester-Souburg, near Flessingue, or Flushing. Th. Juste, *L'Abdication de Charles-Quint*, 8vo, Liège, 1851, p. 30, note.



CHAPTER II.

THE BAY OF BISCAY; LAREDO; BURGOS; AND VALLADOLID.

Eleanor, Queen-dowager of France and Portugal.

OF the royal ladies who were now about to accompany their imperial brother in his voyage, and, like him, to seek retirement in Spain, the elder was the gentle and once beautiful Eleanor, Queen-dowager of Portugal and of France. She was now in her fifty-eighth year, and much broken in health. In youth the favourite sister of the Emperor, she had accompanied him in September 1517, in his voyage from Middleburg to Santander, when he went to take possession of his Spanish crowns.[1] In later days,

[1] E. Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court of Austria*, translated by F. Demmler, 2 vols. fcap. 8vo, London, 1856, vol. i. p. 44.

CHAP. II.

1556.

Mary, Queen-dowager of Hungary.

The other sister, Mary, Queen-dowager of Hungary, was five years younger than Eleanor, and a woman of a very different stamp. Her husband, Louis II., had been slain in 1526, shot through the head by an arrow as he fought against Sultan Solyman on the fatal field of Mohacz. His young widow had barely time to escape from Ofen before the Turks entered the gates. Inconsolable for his loss, Mary, then only twenty-three years of age, took a vow of perpetual widowhood, a vow from which she never sought a dispensation. In spite of this act of feminine devotion, she was, even in that age of manly women, remarkable for her intrepid spirit and her iron frame. To much of the bodily strength of her Polish ancestress, Cymburgis of the hammer-fist, she united the cool head and the strong will of her brother Charles. Hunting and hawking she loved like Mary of Burgundy, and her horsemanship must have delighted the knightly heart of her grandsire Maximilian, since it attracted the wonder of so perfect a cavalier as Francis I. of France.[1] Not only could she bring down her deer with unerring aim, but tucking up her sleeves, and

lest I should have lost my own dinner at home."—Roger Ascham to Ed. Raven, letter dated 20th Jan. 1551, Augusta; *Whole Works*, vol. i., part ii. pp. 245–6.

[1] Amédée Pichot, *Charles-Quint chronique de sa vie intérieure et de sa vie politique de son abdication et de sa retraite dans le cloître de Yuste*, 8vo, Paris, 1854, pp. 171–2.

drawing her knife, she would cut the animal's throat, and rip up its belly in as good style as the best of the royal foresters.[1] It was to her that the imperial ambassador in England made known Mary Tudor's desire for some "wild-boar venison," to grace the feasts which followed her coronation—a desire which was forthwith gratified by the arrival in London of the lieutenant of the royal venery of Flanders, with a prime six-year-old boar, as a gift from the Queen of Hungary.[2] Roger Ascham, meeting the sporting dowager as she galloped into Tongres, far ahead of her suite, although it was her tenth day in the saddle, recorded the fact in his note-book, with a remark which briefly summed up the popular opinion of her character. "She is," says he, "a virago; she is never so well as when she is flinging on horseback and hunting all the night long."[3] To the firm hand of this Amazon sister the Emperor very wisely committed the government of the turbulent Low Countries. For twenty-four stormy years she administered it with much vigour and tolerable success; now foiling the ambitious schemes of Denmark and of France; now repressing Anabaptist or Lutheran risings; and always gather-

[1] *Libro de la Monteria del Rey D. Alsonso;* fol., Sevilla, 1582. See the *Discurso de G. Argote de Molina*, fol. 19.

[2] *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. 121–135.

[3] P. Fraser-Tytler's *Orig. Letters of the Reigns of K. Edward VI. and Q. Mary*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1839, ii. p. 127.

CHAP. II.
1556.

ing as she could the sinews of war for the imperial armies abroad. While she conducted in her cabinet a vast correspondence, she was also at all times ready for a gallop to any corner of her states, where there was need of her quick eye and bold hand. Guarding the northern outpost of the dominion of Austria, her experience in watching the designs of France on the one side, and England on the other, had sharpened to the finest acuteness her political sagacity. She it was who first penetrated the secret counsels of Maurice of Saxony, and obtained proof of his treason to the imperial cause. Charles, who soon discovered the value of her advice and assistance, was wont to call her his other self. In spite of the troubled times in which she reigned, her vice-regal court was not wanting in the splendour which had long distinguished the old court of Burgundy. The palace which she built at Binche in Hainault, and her beautiful adjacent gardens of Mariemont, with their marbles and fountains, were the pride of the Netherlands; and the festivities with which she had there entertained the Emperor and Prince Philip in the summer of 1549,[1] were long remembered for their surpassing magnificence by the old courtiers of Vienna and Madrid. Binche was soon afterwards

[1] A full and entertaining account of the "Fiestas de Bins," for so the Spaniards called the place, will be found in J. C. Calvete, *Viaje del principe D. Philippe*, fol. 182–205.

burned to the ground by the French, an injury for which Mary vowed to make all France do penance, and to leave no stone standing at Fontainebleau.[1] Although she did not live to accomplish the latter threat, her latest exploit in arms was a foray, during the siege of Metz, which she led with so much spirit into Picardy, that Henry II. found it necessary to come to the rescue of his province. She had, indeed, no reason to love the French, who not only carried fire and sword into her favourite bowers, but even assailed her reputation with the poisoned arrows of their satire. The epigrammatists of Paris loved to rhyme of her as the huntress Dian, and to insinuate that, in spite of her professed fidelity to her husband's memory, a love of the chase formed her sole title to the name of the chaste goddess. She was now in her fifty-second year—bronzed rather than broken by her toils, and though seeking retirement and repose, still fit for the council or the saddle. The reason for which she had demanded her release from power was a palpitation of the heart, to which she had been subject for many years. It was much against his will that the Emperor accepted her resignation; and more than once before their departure both he and Philip II. hinted their wish that she should resume the helm

[1] Brantôme, *Œuvres*, 8 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1787, ii. p. 547.

CHAP. II.
1556.

in the Netherlands, which had been meanwhile entrusted to the Duke of Savoy. To these hints she not only turned a deaf ear, but she even refused to take any part in obtaining the supplies from the States-General, who had already displayed a disposition to economy, extremely inconvenient to the paragon prince who now claimed their allegiance and their bounty. It is probable, therefore, that an unfavourable opinion of her nephew had as much weight in determining her retirement, as the state of her health and her advancing age.[1]

The fleet which had assembled at Flushing numbered fifty-six Spanish and Flemish sail, and was commanded by Don Luis de Carvajal. The vessel prepared for the Emperor was a Biscayan ship of five hundred and sixty-five tons, the *Espiritu Santo*, but generally called the *Bertendona*, from the name of the commander. The cabin of Charles was fitted up with green hangings, a swing bed with curtains of the same colour, and eight glass windows. His personal suite consisted of one hundred and fifty persons. The Queens were accommodated on board a Flemish vessel. Although the royal party embarked at Zuitburg on the 13th September, the state of the weather did not allow them to put

[1] An excellent notice of Queen Mary of Hungary, from the pen, I believe, of M. Th. Juste, will be found in the *Revue Nationale de Belgique*, 8vo, 1847, tom. xvii. p. 13.

to sea until the 17th. The next day, as they passed between the white cliffs of Kent and Artois, they fell in with an English squadron of five sail, of which the admiral came on board the Emperor's ship, and kissed his hand. On the 20th, contrary winds drove them to take shelter under the Isle of Portland for a night and a day. The weather continuing unfavourable, on the 22nd the Emperor ordered the admiral to steer for the Isle of Wight, but a fair breeze springing up as they came in sight of that island, the fleet once more took a westerly course, and gained the coast of Biscay without further adventure. On the afternoon of Monday, the 28th September, the good ship *Bertendona* cast anchor in the road of Laredo.

They sail on the 17th,

and land on 28th Sept. at

Laredo.

The Gulf of Laredo is a forked inlet of irregular form, opening towards the east, and walled from the north-western blast by the craggy and castled headland of Santoña. Laredo, with its fortress, stands at the mouth of the gulf on the south-eastern shore. Once a commercial station of the Romans, it became an important arsenal of St. Ferdinand of Castile. From Laredo, Ramon Bonifaz sailed to the Guadalquivir and the conquest of Seville; and a Laredo-built ship struck the fatal blow to the Moorish capital, by bursting the bridge of boats and chains which connected the Golden Tower with the suburb of Triana, an exploit commemorated by St. Ferdinand

CHAP. II.
1556.

in the augmentation, of a ship, to the municipal bearings of Laredo. After some centuries of prosperity, the town was cruelly sacked, in 1639, by the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the apostolic admiral of Louis XIII. Santander rose upon its ruins; its population dwindled from fourteen to three thousand; fishing craft only were found in its sand-choked haven; yet, true to its martial fame, it sent a gallant band of seamen to die at Trafalgar.

This ancient seaport was now the scene of a debarkation more remarkable than any which Spain had known since Columbus stepped ashore at Palos, with his red men from the New World. Landing on the evening of the 28th September 1556,[1] the Emperor was received by Pedro Manrique, Bishop of Salamanca, and Durango, an alcalde of the court, who were in waiting there by order of the Infanta Juana, Regent of Spain. He was joined on the following morning by the two Queens. The arrival of the royal party seemed to take the Bishop and the town by surprise, for few preparations had as yet been made for its reception. The Admiral

Want of preparations to receive them.

[1] De Thou (*Hist. sui Temp.*, lib. xvii.) says that Charles on landing knelt down and kissed the earth, ejaculating, "I salute thee, O common mother! Naked came I forth from the womb to receive the treasures of the earth, and naked am I about to return to the bosom of the universal mother." Ludovico Dolce, *Vita di Carlo V.*, tells the same story. Had the Emperor really done or spoken so, it is most unlikely that his secretary would have failed to mention it in his letters—none of which contain any hint that can justify the tale.

Carvajal instantly despatched his brother Alonso to court with the intelligence, which he delivered at Valladolid on the 1st October.

The Princess-Regent, the Infanta Juana, had already issued instructions to the primate, prelates, and chapters of Spain to cause prayers to be said in their respective cathedrals for the prosperity of her father's voyage. She had also given orders to Colonel Luis Quixada, the Emperor's chamberlain, who had preceded him to Spain, to prepare a residence for the Emperor at Valladolid. These arrangements completed, Quixada had returned to his country house at Villagarcia, six leagues to the north-west of Valladolid, whither a courier was now sent with a command for him to repair with all speed to the coast. The active chamberlain was in the saddle by two in the morning of the 2nd October, and making the best of his way, on his own horses, to Burgos, he there took post, and accomplished the entire distance (fifty-six leagues, or about 210 English miles), in three days, dismounting on the night of the 4th at Laredo.

Arrival of Luis Quixada.

The presence of the stout old soldier was much wanted. Half of the Emperor's people were ill; Monsieur de la Chaulx and Monsieur d'Aubremont had tertian and quartan fevers; seven or eight of the meaner attendants were dead; yet there were no doctors to give any assistance. There was even

CHAP. II.
1556.

a difficulty in finding a priest to say mass, the staff of physicians and chaplains which had been ordered down from Valladolid not having yet been heard of. But for the well-stored larder of the Bishop of Salamanca, there would have been short commons at the royal table. When the secretary, Martin Gaztelu, wrote to complain of these things, there was no courier at hand to carry the letter. The weather was wet and tempestuous, and of a fleet of ships, laden with wool, which the royal squadron had met at sea, some had returned dismasted to port, and others had gone to the bottom.[1] The Flemings were loud in their discontent, and very ill-disposed to penetrate any further into a country so hungry and inhospitable. The alcalde who was charged with the preparations for the journey was at his wit's end, though hardly beyond the beginning of his work. The Emperor himself was ill, and out of humour with the badness of the arrangements; but he was cheered by the sight of his trusty Quixada, and welcomed him with much kindness.

From the moment that the old campaigner took

[1] The loss of the vessel of Francis Cachopin, with eighty men, and a cargo worth 80,000 ducats, is particularly mentioned by Gaztelu, in his letter to Juan Vazquez de Molina, dated 6th October. This storm seems to be the sole foundation for Sandoval's story (*Hist. de Carlos V.*, 2 vols. Pamplona, 1634, lib. xxxii. c. 39, ii. p. 820, and repeated by Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, 2 tom. sm. 8vo, Antv. 1640, i. p. 10) that the Emperor's ship went down a few hours after he had quitted her. No trace of such an accident is to be found in the Gonzalez MS.

the command, matters began to wear a more hopeful aspect. The day after his arrival was spent in vigorous preparation; and in the morning of the 6th October, a messenger came from Valladolid with a seasonable supply of provisions. That morning, while Gaztelu penned a somewhat desponding account of the backwardness of things in general, Quixada wrote a cheerful announcement that they were to begin their march that day at noon, after His Majesty had dined—a promise which he managed to fulfil.

They start on 6th Oct.

The Emperor, in spite of the discomforts of his sojourn at Laredo, is said to have left to the town some marks of his favour. The parish church of the Assumption of the Virgin—a fine temple of the thirteenth century, grievously marred by the embellishments of the eighteenth—was happy in the possession of a holy image, "Our Lady of the Magian Kings," full of miraculous power, and of benevolence to sailors. Two lecterns of bronze, in the shape of eagles with expanded wings, and an altar-ternary of silver, which still adorn her shrine, are prized as proofs that Charles V. enjoyed and valued her protection.[1]

Emperor's gifts to Laredo.

The feeble state of the Emperor's health required that he should travel by easy stages. His first day's march, along the rocky shore of the gulf, and up the

Journey.

[1] Madoz, *Diccionario geográfico estadístico histórico de España*, 17 vols. roy. 8vo, Madrid, 1850, art. *Laredo*, a work of the greatest value and importance.

CHAP. II.

1556.

Ampuero.

La Nestosa, 7th Oct.

Aguera, 8th Oct.

Medina de Pomar, 9th Oct.

right bank of the Ason, was hardly three leagues. The halting-place was Ampuero, a village hung on the wooded side of Moncerrago. Next day, about four leagues were accomplished, on a road which still kept along the sylvan valley of the Ason—a mountain stream, renowned for its salmon, and for the grand cataract in which it leaps from its source high up in the sierra. La Nestosa, a hamlet in a fertile hill-embosomed plain, was the second day's bourne. The third journey, of four leagues, was on the ridge of Tornos, to Aguera, a village buried among the wildest mountains of the great sierra which divides the woods and pastures of Biscay from the brown plains of Old Castile. On the fourth day, a march of five leagues, across the southern spurs of the same range, brought the travellers to Medina de Pomar, a small town on a rising ground in a wide and windswept plain. Here the Emperor paused a day to repose.

He had performed the journey with tolerable ease, in a horse-litter, which he exchanged, when the road was rugged or very steep, for a chair carried by men. Two of these chairs, and three litters, in case of accident in the wild highland march, formed his travelling equipment. By the side of the litter rode Luis Quixada; or, in case the chamberlain, who was also marshal and quartermaster, was needed elsewhere, his place was taken by La Chaulx, an old and faithful servant, who, thirty years before, had

had the honour of appearing as the Emperor's marriage-proxy at the court of Portugal.[1] The rest of the attendants followed on horseback, and the cavalcade was preceded by the Alcalde Durango, and five alguazils, with their wands of office—a vanguard which Quixada said made the party look like a convoy of prisoners. These alguazils, and the general shabbiness of the regiment under his command, were matters of great concern to the Colonel; but his remonstrances met with no sympathy from the Emperor, who said the tipstaves did very well for him, and that he did not mean for the future to have any guards attached to his household.

On the road, between Ampuero and La Nestosa, they met Don Enrique de Guzman, coming from court, charged with a large stock of provisions and ample supply of conserves. These latter dainties the Emperor immediately desired to taste, and finding their quality good, he gave orders that they were to be kept sacred for his peculiar eating. Guzman was accompanied by Don Pedro Pimentel,

[1] His long and interesting account of his proceedings there is in the *Correspondenz des Kaisers Karl V.*, von Dr. Karl Lanz, i. p. 169. The name is usually spelt by Sandoval and other Spaniards *Laxao.*

[In a subsequently written note the author says :] This, I fear, is a mistake. It was probably a younger La Chaulx. Vandenesse, under date August 9, 1529, says M. de la Chaux—no doubt the marriage-proxy—was sent to the King of France on the subject of the ratification of Cambray, and that he returned afterwards to his home in Burgundy, where he soon afterwards died. Vandenesse, *Itinerary of Charles V.* in Bradford's *Correspondence of the Emperor Charles V.*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 494.

CHAP. II.
1556.

gentleman of the chamber to the young prince, Don Carlos, bearing letters of compliment from his master, who desired that the Emperor would indicate to his ambassador, as he called Pimentel, the place on the road where he was to meet him.[1] Without settling this point, Quixada wrote, by the Emperor's orders, to court, commanding a regular supply of melons to be sent for the imperial table, and some portable glass windows to be got ready for use on the journey beyond Valladolid, as the nights were already becoming chilly. He asked also for the dimensions of the apartments prepared at Valladolid for the Queens, that he might send forward fitting tapestry for their decoration; and he begged that

[1] *Documentos Ineditos*, tom. xxvi. and xxvii., contain some interesting papers "relating to Don Carlos." Amongst these (Documentos relativos al P. D. Carlos) there is a letter from Don Garcia de Toledo, *Ayo* of the Prince, to the Emperor, Valladolid, 3rd October 1556, who writes:—"El principe se ho alegrado tanto con la nueva de la buena guida de V.M. que á dejarle hacer lo que quesiera, ninguno creo yo que llegára primero que S.A. á besar los manos de V.M. y para detenello no habido otro remedio sino decillo que tan gran deacato seria determinar nada sino saber la voluntad de V.M. y para eso escrivo á D. Pedro Pimentel con la cartá que S.A. ha notada y escrito de su mano sin ayudarse de nadie." Tom. xxvii. p. 182.

The letter of the Prince is dated 2nd October, and it is as follows, tom. xxvii. p. 183:—

Ya é sabédo q̃ V.Mᵈ esta en salvamento y é holgado dello infinitamente tanto q̃ no lo puedo mas en carecer suplico á V. Mᵈ q̃ me haga saber si é de salir á recebir á V.Mᵈ y adonde ay va Don Pedro Pimentel gentilhombre di mi cámera y mi embaxador al qual suplico á V.Mᵈ mande lo q̃ en esto se ha de hazer para q̃ el malo escrivo. Beso los manos de V. M. en Vallid. ij de Otobre, muy humilde hijo de V.Mᵈ

EL PRINCIPE (facsimile).

Sobre.—Al Emperador mi Señor.

the measurements might be taken with great exactness, as their Majesties, especially the Queen of Hungary, could not bear the slightest mistake in the execution of their behests. The royal dowagers had brought with them from Flanders a profusion of fine tapestry of all kinds, much of which still adorns the walls of the Spanish palaces. They did not travel in company with their brother, but kept one day's march in the rear, as it would have been difficult to lodge their combined followers. The management of their journey, and the selection of their quarters, rested with the all-provident Quixada, who had found time to make general arrangements on these heads as he galloped down the road from Villagarcia.

Visitors.

During the day of rest at Medina, the imperial quarters were thronged with noble and civic visitors, who rode into the town from all points of the compass. Addresses came from the corporations of Burgos, Salamanca, Palencia, Pamplona, and other cities; from the Archbishop of Toledo, and other prelates.

Journey resumed.

On the 11th October, Charles again mounted his litter, and travelled five leagues to

Pesadas, 11th Oct.

Pesadas, where he was met by the Constable of Navarre. After a brief audience, he dismissed that nobleman, with a request that he would go forward and welcome the two Queens.

Gondomin, 12th Oct.

The night of the 12th October was passed, after a five

CHAP. II.
1556.

leagues' march, at Gondomin;[1] and the next day, a journey of about the same length, still over vast undulating heaths, rough with thickets of dwarf oak, led to the domains of the Cid, beyond which rose the ancient gate and beautiful twin spires of Burgos.

Two leagues from the city, the Emperor was met by the Constable of Castile, Don Pedro Fernandez de Velasco, and a gallant company of loyal gentlemen. The Constable, whom age and infirmities had compelled to exchange, like his lord, the saddle for the litter, conducted him with all honour to the noble palace of the Velascos, popularly known as the Casa del Cordon, from the massive stone-carved cord of St. Francis, which enfolds and protects the great portal. He offered hospitality to the whole of the imperial train, but this Luis Quixada was instructed to decline. While the Emperor made his entry into the city, a peal of welcome rang from the belfries of the cathedral, a church so rich in filigree decoration that Charles had said, on his first visit to the city, that it ought to be kept in a case, and shown only on special occasions;[2] and at night, the chapter made a still finer display of loyalty, in a grand illumination of its steeples. For once, sombre

Entry into Burgos, 13th Oct.

[1] Hontamin is the present name.

[2] Juan Canton Salazar, *Vida de Sta. Casilda*, quoted by José Cairdo in *Ensayo sobre los diversos generos de la Arquitectura empleados en España*, 4to, Madrid, 1848, p. 376. He is said to have made the same remark of the tower of the cathedral of Antwerp.

Burgos, which was said to wear mourning for all Castile,[1] seems to have laid aside its weeds.

The privations, spiritual and temporal, endured by Charles at Laredo, and arising, as it appears, from miscalculation of time, are the sole evidence furnished by his servants of that neglect which even Spanish historians have long been in the habit of depicting, as if to deter princes from the dangerous experiment of abdication. Had the Emperor really been exposed to this mortification, perhaps his pride would have led him to suffer in silence. But then his hundred and fifty followers, newly come from the fleshpots of Flanders, must have starved; and they at least would have cried aloud, and spared not. So far from the imperial traveller being allowed to pass through his ancient kingdom unnoticed, his stay of two days at Burgos seems to have been a perpetual levee. Amongst those who came to pay their homage, were the Admiral of Castile, the Dukes of Medina-Celi, Medina-Sidonia, Maqueda, Najera, Infantado, and many other grandees. The royal councils of state, the royal chancery of Valladolid, and other public bodies, sent deputations with loyal addresses. Amongst the lesser nobles who came in crowds to the Casa del Cordon, not the

[1] And. Navagiero, *Il Viaggio fatto in Spagna*, sm. 8vo, Vinegia, 1563, fol. 35.

CHAP. II.
1556.

least noticeable was Don Gutierre de Padilla, brother of the gallant Juan de Padilla, with whom, thirty-five years before, the constitutional liberties of Castile had perished in the disastrous wars of the Commons. For fighting on the winning side in that heroic struggle, Gutierre had been rewarded with a commandery, and at this time he held the honorary post of gentleman of the imperial chamber.

Journey to Valladolid.

From Burgos the Emperor set out for Valladolid on the 16th October. In spite of his infirmities, the Constable offered to accompany him part of the first day's journey—an offer which, however, his guest would not accept. But to the great contentment of Quixada, Don Francisco de Beaumont insisted on joining the cavalcade with an escort of cavalry, thus superseding the alcalde and his alguazils. Their road lay along the rich vale and near the right bank of the Arlanzon, a river sometimes rolling its muddy waters in a deep and rapid stream, sometimes expanding them into broad shallows. The first resting-place was about four leagues from Burgos, at the village of Celada; the second, seven leagues further, at Palenzuela, where the Emperor was pleased to find a supply of flounders, newly arrived from court. Fish was his favourite food, yet it never agreed with him; so these flounders were probably the cause of the indisposition of which he complained at

Celada, 16th Oct.
Palenzuela, 17th Oct.

Torquemada, where, after a journey of four leagues, he passed the night. In this town of vine-dressers, seated amongst productive gardens and orchards, near the confluence of the Arlanzon, the Arlanza, and the Pisuerga, he was met by the Bishop of the neighbouring city of Palencia. This prelate, Pedro de la Gasca, was a man of some distinction; his skilful diplomacy, in repressing a formidable rebellion, had saved Peru to Castile; and he had very lately received from the Emperor his present mitre, as the reward of his services.[1] He now waited on his benefactor with a magnificent supply of meat, game, and fruit, sufficient to feast the whole of his train.

Torquemada, 18th Oct.

The next night the Emperor was lodged three leagues further on, at Dueñas, where Ferdinand of Aragon first met Isabella the Catholic, and where the Count of Buendia now received their descendant in his feudal castle, on the adjacent height overlooking the broad valley of the Pisuerga. Some gentlemen from Valladolid meeting him here, advised him to enter the capital by way of Cigales and the Puente-mayor, by which means he would at once reach the palace, without noise and without a crowd. "No," said he; "I will go the usual way, by the gate of San Pedro; for it would be a shame not to

Dueñas, 19th Oct.

[1] F. Fernandez de Pulgar, *Historia de Palencia*, 4 vols. fol., Madrid, 1679, iii. p. 201.

CHAP. II.

1556.

Cabezon, 20th Oct.

Don Carlos meets Emperor.

let my people see me."[1] The fifth day, his journey was again a short one, of three leagues; and the halting-place was Cabezon, a village within two leagues of the capital, and boasting of a fine bridge over the Pisuerga. Here the Infant Don Carlos was in waiting, by his grandfather's directions. It was the first time that the Emperor had seen the unhappy heir of his name and his honours. He embraced him with much appearance of affection, and made him sup at his table. During the meal, the Prince took a fancy to a little portable chafing-dish, which the Emperor carried in his hand for warmth, and begged to have it for his own; to which the proprietor replied, that he should have it as soon as he was dead, and had no further use for it.

Early next day, the 21st October, Juan Vasquez de Molina, Secretary of State, came to Cabezon, and had a long conference with the Emperor, of whom he had been an old and approved servant. He found him in good health and spirits, not at all fatigued with his journey, and in all respects better than his attendants had known him for several years. Charles would not,[2] however, accept the

[1] "Ruindad no dejarse ver por los suyos," are the words given by Gonzalez.

[2] This seems doubtful. Francisco Osorio, writing to the King, 26th October 1556, from Valladolid, says:—"Entró S.M. en esta villa miércoles en la tarde, que fueron viente y uno deste mes (Oct^bre.), y salé con los grandes que aquí esperaban á S.M. al camino al besar los pies á S.M. que

CHAP. II.
1556.

honours of a public reception, which it had been proposed to give him at Valladolid, but desired that the pomps prepared for the occasion might be reserved until the arrival of the Queens, who were also on the road. Accordingly, he made his entry that same afternoon, by the gate of San Pedro, or of the Chancery, without parade of any kind, and was received

Enters Valladolid, 21st Oct.

son el condestable, y Conde de Benavente, y Marques de Astorga, y Almirante, y duque de Najera, y duque de Sesa y otros, y los parlados que aquí se hallaron y el corregidor con toda la villa, y fué S.M. recebido con muy grande allegría; y otra dia á la misma hora entraron las Ser^as. Reinas y fueron recebidas con el mismo amor y solemnidad, y con trompetos y atimbales y menestriles, y salieron los consejos, y iglesia, y estudio y los dotores con sus insinias y el colegio con sus becas colorados, y llegaron SS. MM. á palacio con hachas, y la Princesa mi señora baja al patio con el principe, n^o. señor, y con todas las señoras principales que aquí están, y alli besaron los manos á SS. MM. con muy gran amor, y cenaron aquella noche con S.A. y habo una muy solene cena y con mucha alegría de que S.M. (the Emperor) y las S^ras. Reinas tuvieron muy grande alegría y contentamiento, y la Serenísima Reina Doña Maria tan grande que dicen que en grande manera diee S.M. le ha parecido bien todo lo que ha visto, y cada dia ternámos contentamiento de se ver en estos reinos come de todo mas particularmente se horá relacion á V.M. Los dias en que SS. MM. entraron hizo sol y muy buenos y claros, y las calles per donde entraron las Ser^as. Reinas están muy bien entapizadas; y al punto que esta escribo S.M. queda con entera salud y las S^ras. Reinas y la misma tienen la Princesa mi Señ^ra. y el Principe N^o. Señor," &c. Documentos relativos al Principe D. Carlos, *Documentos Ineditos*, xxvii. pp. 184-5. From this it would seem that although there was more show and festivity at the entry of the Queens, the Emperor was also received by the grandees and other principal personages in a manner befitting the occasion. [Miguet, *Charles-Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au monastère de Yuste*, 8vo, Paris, 1854, p. 157, says, "Il fut reçu très-simplement dans le palais par sa fille, . . . les prélats qui se trouvaient à la cour les membres des divers conseils, le corrégidor de la ville, avec les membres de *l'ayuntamiento*, vinrent tour à tour lui baiser les mains," quoting as his authority the *Retiro, estancia y muerte del emperador Carlos quinto en el monasterio de Yuste*, por Don Tómas Gonzalez, fol. 4^ro.]

CHAP. II.
1556.

in the court of the palace by his grandson, Don Carlos,[1] and by his daughter, the Princess-Regent.[2]

Valladolid was at this time at the height of its prosperity, as the wealthy and flourishing capital of the Spanish monarchy. It possessed a noble palace, standing in delicious gardens; a splendid college erected by Cardinal Mendoza, and built all of white marble in the florid gothic of Ferdinand and Isabella;

[1] Of the relations of Charles V. with his grandson Don Carlos during this residence at Valladolid, Francisco Osorio (described in the heading of another letter as *el limosnero*) writes (in the letter above quoted, 26th Oct.):—"En gran manera se huelga (the Emperor), con el Principe Nº. Señor, y me dicen que tiene muy gran contentamiento de S.A. y creo que es tanto que cuando se ofriciere algo que importe le ha S.M. de tenerle en consejo de Estado. El dia que salió á recebir á S.M. hacia un poco de fresco y llevó una ropa aforada que le parecia muy bien, y parecia S.A. estranjero, y fueron hastas los bendiciones que echaron á V.M. y á este bien venturado fruto que Dios Nº. Señor dió á V.M."—*Documentos Ineditos*, xxvii. p. 186.

In the same letter, Frº. Osorio chronicles with great satisfaction his own recognition by the Emperor:—"Y cuando besé los pies á S.M. pensé que no me conocierá, y me dijo Francisco Osorio, ¿Como estais? que quarenta años ha que os conozco y besé los pies á S.M. por la memoria que de me tenía, y [indecipherable in MS.], tuvo fuerza ser yo criadó de S.M."—*Doc. Ined.*, xxvii. p. 186. He adds:—"Tres dias despues que entró S.M. aquí besaron los del consejos todos pintos los manos á S.M., y S.M. los recibió con grande amor sinificando les por cuan servido se ternia dello y dándoles las gracias por sus servicios y por el cuidado que tenian de complir de su obligacion, y S.M. les dia cuenta de todo lo que habia hecho, y las causas que se movieron á lo hacer, y la principal diciendoles la verdad y bondad y prudencia de que Dios Nº. Señor habia dotado á V.M. para servirle y para gubernar y regir estos reinos, y de la mucho que V.M. habia trabajado en la gubernacion durante su ausencia, y en razon desto y de otras cosas hablo S.M. tales y tan solemnes cosas que no se yo encarecerlas; y habiendoles S.M. hablado y dado cuenta particular de todo, se saliéron dando gracias a Dios Nº. Señor, y tan favorescidos y con tantos que no cesaban de dar gracias á Dios por ello."—*Doc. Ined.*, xxvii. pp. 186–7.

[2] The Emperor's itinerary from Laredo to Valladolid was as follows—the distances being computed as far as possible by the fine maps of

and some religious houses, such as San Benito and San Pablo, unexcelled as examples of the rich and fantastic transition style of architecture. Other churches and convents, and many mansions of the nobility adorned the streets and squares, spread their long fronts to the great parade-ground known as the Campo Grande, or rose amongst the gardens which fringed the Pisuerga.

Infanta Juana.

The Princess-Regent Juana was the second daughter of the Emperor, and widow of Juan, Prince of Brazil, heir-apparent of the Portuguese crown. Her married life had been no less brief than bright; the Prince, who loved her tenderly, dying in less than thirteen months after their union. Juan was the only son, not only of his parents, but of the decaying house of Avis; and therefore, on his pregnant widow

---

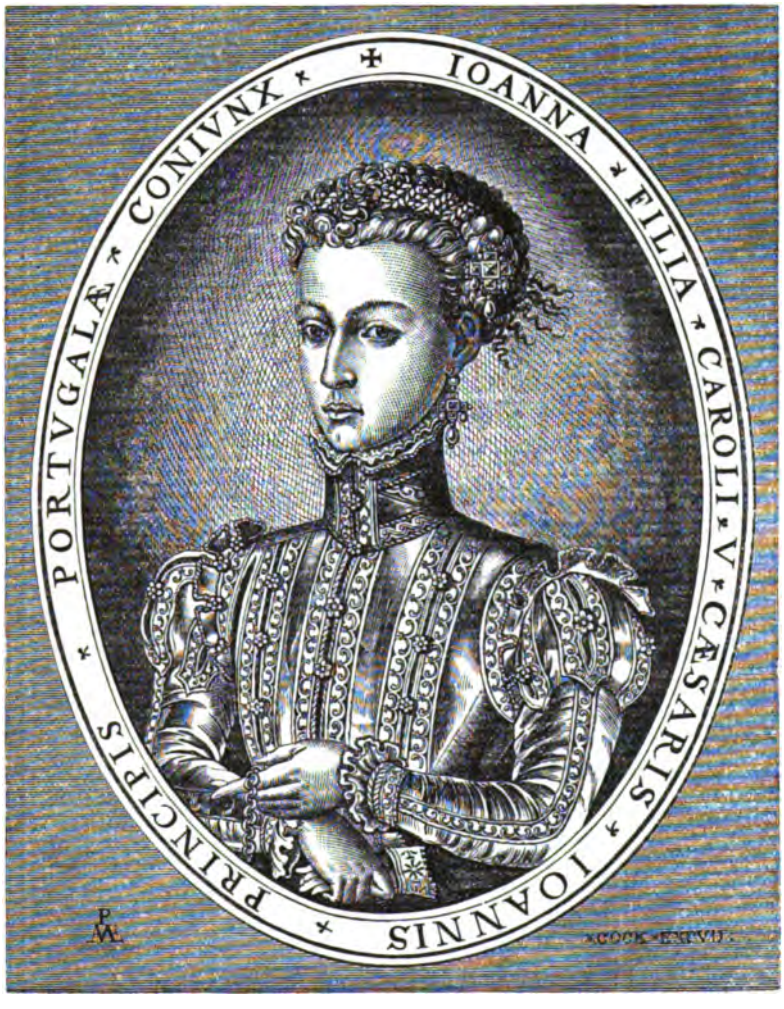
Col. Don Francisco Coello, now [1853] in course of publication at Madrid:—

			Leagues.
Oct. 6, Monday,	Laredo to	Ampuero	3
7, Tuesday,		La Nestosa	4
8, Wednesday,		Aguera	4
9, Thursday,		Medina de Pomar	5
11, Saturday,		Pesadas	5
12, Sunday,		Gondomin	5
13, Monday,		Burgos	5
16, Thursday,		Celada	4
17, Friday,		Palenzuela	7
18, Saturday,		Torquemada	4
19, Sunday,		Dueñas	3
20, Monday,		Cabezon	3
21, Tuesday,		Valladolid	2
		In all about	54 leagues.

CHAP. II.
1556.

of nineteen were centred all the hopes of the Portuguese nation. In spite, however, of the prayers which rose in every church, and the processions which glittered through every town between the Minho and Cape St. Vincent, alarming portents preceded the royal birth. A woman, clad in black, was seen to stand by the bed of Juana, snapping her fingers, and blowing into the air, as if in prediction of the futility of the national hope; and phantom Moors, with torches in their hands, rushed at night by the palace windows, in full view of the Princess and her ladies, riding on the wintry blast, and uttering doleful cries as they descended into the sea. But in the night of the 15th January 1554, a shout of joy rang through the broad square between the palace and the Tagus, when it was announced to the expectant crowd that the prince was born whose romantic fate has made the name of Sebastian so famous in song and story. From the pangs of travail the young mother, who had been kept ignorant of her husband's death, passed to the sorrows of widowhood; she wept for the father of her child as Rachel for her children, and would not be comforted; and, but for the King, who forbade the cutting off of her fine auburn hair, she would have retired with her grief to a nunnery.[1]

[1] M. de Meneses, *Chrónica de D. Sebastiaõ*, fol. Lisboa, 1730, pp. 27-30.



THE INFANTA DOÑA JUANA, PRINCESS OF BRAZIL.

CHAP. II.
1556.

Having repaid to the house of Avis the debt incurred by the house of Austria at the birth of Don Carlos, she was soon recalled to Spain, to govern that country, as Regent, first for her father, the Emperor, and now for her brother, Philip II. This high post she filled with firmness and moderation, displaying no want of sagacity, except in her policy towards the enthusiasts for religious reform, whom she treated with the foolish severity practised by many of the mildest and wisest rulers of the time. Her policy was ever directed by that strong family feeling which the princes of the nineteenth century have learned to call by the more decorous name of public spirit. Of personal ambition she appears to have been entirely free. For many months before her brother returned to Spain, she was constantly urging him to come back and ease her of the burden of power. To her father her deference was ever most readily and affectionately paid. Devotion was the ruling passion of her widowed life; her recreation during her regency was to retire, for prayer and scourging, to the convent which the Franciscans called their *Scala Cœli*, amongst the gloomy rocks and tall pines of Abrojo.[1] She encouraged her ladies

[1] It was founded in 1415 by Sta. Pedro Regalado. The name *Abroja* or *Abroxo* means a bramble, and the place was called originally "*la huerta de el Abroxo*, porque la tierra criaba muchos." It is on the banks of the Duero, and is surrounded by "*montes*," so that no inhabited country can

CHAP. II.
1556.

to become nuns, but dissuaded them from becoming wives; and she would never give audience to foreign ambassadors without being covered from head to foot with a veil, drawing it aside for a moment only when some envoy, more curious than his fellows, desired permission to identify her pale and melancholy face.

Festivities at Valladolid.

While at Valladolid, the Emperor and his suite were lodged in the house of Don Gomez Perez de las Marinas.[1] Another residence was assigned to the Queens, who arrived on the 22nd October, the day after their brother. The grandees, the dignitaries of the Church and the law, the council of state in their robes of ceremony, and the college doctors in their scarlet hoods, met them in grand procession, and conducted them into the city in triumph. They were charmed with their reception; Quixada and his people had made no mistake about the tapestries; and Queen Mary, at the banquet in the evening, remarked that every day she found new cause to rejoice that she had come to

---

be seen from it. Tall pines shut it in, so high and thick that you can hardly see the ground, and although the Duero almost surrounds it "casi con la vista no se goza, solo se vee desde el abroxo sin emborazos el cielo." Fr. Manuel de Monzaval, *Historia de la vida muerte y culto de S. Pedro Regalado*, 4to, Valladolid, 1684, p. 58.

[1] In 1628 Monconys says, "Behind the palace there is a large square where the bull-fights take place; and they still show the house of Charles V. *au bord de l'eau*." Monconys, *Voyages*, 3 vols. 4to, Lyon, 1665–66, tom. iii. p. 5.

Spain. The banquet was followed by a ball, at which the Emperor also was present. The Admiral of Castile, the Duke of Sesa, heir of the great captain,

the Count of Benevente, and the Marquess of Astorga were amongst the chief nobles who came to do homage to their ancient lord, whose hand was also kissed by the members of the Council of Castile. It was probably at this ball that Charles caused the wives of all his personal attendants to be assembled around him, and bade each in particular farewell. Perico de Sant Erbas, a famous jester of the court,

Perico de Sant Erbas.

CHAP. II.
1556.

passing by at the moment, the Emperor good-humouredly saluted him by lifting his hat. This buffoon had formerly been wont to make the Emperor laugh by calling his son *Señor de Todo*, Lord of All,[1] and now that Philip was so, this opportunity of reviving the old joke was too good to be lost by the bitter fool. "What! do you uncover to me?" said the jester; "does it mean that you are no longer an Emperor?" "No, Pedro," replied the object of the jest; "but it means that I have nothing to give you beyond this courtesy."[2]

Don Constantino de Braganza.

On the 27th October, Don Constantino de Braganza arrived from Lisbon to congratulate the Emperor, in the name of his cousin, John III., and his sister Catherine, King and Queen of Portugal, on his safe return to Spain. Charles received him with that perfect graciousness with which he knew well how to meet the advances of a rival who had just cause for dissatisfaction. For the courts of Lisbon and Valladolid, though friendly in appearance, were really upon terms far from cordial. Not only had Philip II. broken his faith to an Infanta of Portugal, but his father had aided him in foiling the designs of a Portuguese Infant upon the crown matrimonial of England. For that splendid prize the gallant Don Luis

Causes of ill-will between Spain and Portugal.

[1] *Relatione di Navagiero*, Bradford's *Correspondence of Charles V.*, 8vo, London, 1850, p. 439.

[2] J. A. de Vera, *Vida del Emp. Carlos V.*, 4to, Bruxelles, 1656, p. 246.

of Portugal had been one of the earliest candidates. Knowing that the Prince of Spain was already betrothed to his half-sister, and being himself a brother-in-law, as well as a brother in arms, of his sire, he at once confided his plan to the Emperor, and asked for his aid in its execution. Charles received his confidence graciously, and affected to favour his pretensions, until Philip had made his election sure. Don Luis was lately dead, leaving a bastard son, who, as Prior of Crato, afterwards became famous for a time as Philip's most formidable rival for the crown of Portugal. But the affronts which the house of Avis had received in the persons of Don Luis and the Infanta were still too recent to be forgotten, and may have been partly the cause why the Princess Juana so soon forsook her baby son, and the kingdom which was his heritage. The national enmities which burned on the opposite shores of the Guadiana were not extinct in royal bosoms at Lisbon and Valladolid; France was careful to fan the useful flame; and it was suspected that the moidores of Brazil were not unknown to the troops which soon began to plant the lilied banner on fortress after fortress along the ever-fluctuating frontier of French and Austrian Flanders.

Affairs submitted to Emperor.

During his stay at Valladolid, the Emperor every day held long conferences on public affairs with the Princess-Regent and the secretary Vazquez. He could not approach the machine of government

CHAP. II.
1556.

which he had so long directed without examining with lively interest its condition and its movements. He was anxious now to give its present guides the benefit of his parting advice,—advice which, as the event proved, he continued to transmit from Yuste by every post, and which was ended only with his powers of hearing and dictating despatches. But that he now intended to abstain from further interference with business of state is plain, from a letter which he wrote to Philip II. on the 30th October.

Anthony, Duke of Vendôme,

This letter relates chiefly to certain overtures which had been made to the Emperor by Anthony de Bourbon, whom he called Duke of Vendôme, but who was known in France by the title of King of Navarre. Since Ferdinand the Catholic had driven John III. across the Pyrenees, the dominions of the house of D'Albret hardly extended beyond the horizon of its fair castle of Pau. The chains in which Castile held Navarre were stronger than those through which Don Sancho clove his way at Navas de Tolosa, and which his exiled descendants still emblazoned in gold on their blood-red shield. Yet the late King Henry, husband of the story-loving pearl of Margarets, had willed himself a provisional tomb, until fortune should permit him to be laid in the cathedral of Pamplona. His son-in-law, the chief of the Bourbons, was, however, neither very

solicitous nor very hopeful of disturbing Henry's repose at Lescar. To the courage, courtesy, and good-humour which seldom desert a Bourbon in high or low estate, the first king of the name added, in full measure, that laxity of principle and instability of purpose which seem to belong to the blood. Protestant and Catholic, Huguenot and Leaguer by turns, he anticipated in his career all that tarnished, little that ennobled, the name of his son Henry IV.; and he died detested by the party which he had forsaken, and described, by the party to which he had attached himself, as a man without heart and without gall.[1] As governor of Picardy, he had lately commanded against the imperial troops in Flanders; but he had now joined his strong-minded wife, Jane D'Albret, in her principality of Bearne. Menaced even in that modest domain by the all-powerful Guises, who recommended its annexation to the realm of France, they were desirous of securing the protection of their other great neighbour

[1] He is described by a contemporary as "uno suggetto debolissimo," he being then (1561) the chief adviser of Catherine de Medicis in the regency of France. In hopes of raising a party for himself, he favoured sometimes the Catholics, to please the Pope; sometimes the Huguenots, to enlist them in his cause; sometimes the Lutherans, to conciliate the aid of the German Protestants. "Il seder sopra tanti scanni non giova mai." He was so vain that after his beard was white he loved to bedizen himself with jewellery, wearing a profusion of rings, and even earrings like a woman. *Rélations des Ambassadeurs Vénétiens sur les affaires de France*, recueillies et traduites par M. M.N. Tommaseo, 2 tomes 4to, Paris, 1838.

CHAP. II.

1556.

proposes to sell his rights to Navarre.

beyond the Pyrenees. Anthony had therefore proposed to cede to the King of Spain, for a suitable consideration, all his wife's rights to coronation or to interment at Pamplona.

Writing to Philip II.,[1] the Emperor informed him that this matter had been brought under his notice at Burgos, by the Duke of Alburquerque, Viceroy of Navarre, and that he had given audience to Monsieur Ezcurra, the confidential agent of the Duke of Vendôme. The subject had also been discussed at Valladolid. He had refused, however, to enter upon the affair, and left it entirely in the King's hands. He hoped that the Prince of Orange and the Chancellor had come to a settlement with the King of the Romans, as to the last formalities of his renunciation of the empire; and he entreated Philip to hasten the settlement by all the means in his power, being anxious to enter his monastery "free from this, as from other cares."

Doubts as to Emperor's retreat.

While Charles was thus bent on conventual quiet, he was so reserved in his communications with his attendants, that they were still in doubt whether he really intended to shut himself up for life in the distant cloister of Yuste. From Burgos, Gaztelu wrote, that in spite of his constant opportunities, he was unable to penetrate the Emperor's intentions

[1] [Gachard, *Retraite et mort de Charles Quint*, tom. ii. p. 105.]

—the expressions which he let fall being always, as it seemed, purposely equivocal. At Valladolid, however, he had commanded the attendance of the Prior of Yuste, and the General of the Order of Jerome, Fray Francisco de Toſiño; and he gave audience so frequently to these friars, that the Flemings must have begun to despair of escaping the backwoods of Estremadura.

Don Carlos.

The acquaintance of the Emperor and his grandson, Don Carlos, which commenced at Cabezon, was of course improved at Valladolid. On the grandfather's side, there seems to have been little of the fondness which usually belongs to the relationship. Although only eleven years old, Carlos had already shown symptoms of the mental malady which darkened the long life of Queen Juana, his great-grandmother by the side both of his father, Philip of Spain, and of his mother, Mary of Portugal. Of a sullen and passionate temper, he lived in a state of perpetual rebellion against his aunt, and displayed in the nursery the weakly mischievous spirit which marked his short career at his father's court. His sad and early death, still mysterious both in its cause and its circumstances, has made him the darling of romance; and in that fairy realm, he goes crowned with immortal garlands, such as certainly have never been won in the battlefields of life by any son or descendant of his sire. He might possibly have

CHAP. II.
1556.

become the champion of the people's rights, and of liberty of conscience; but it was scarcely probable that a hero of that order should be born in the purple of the house of Hapsburg. His shadowy claims to the title have been maintained by several Schiller-struck champions.[1] But his high faculties for good or evil, if he possessed them, certainly escaped the shrewd insight of his grandfather, who regarded him merely as a froward and untractable child, whose future interests would be best served by a present unsparing use of the rod. Recommending, therefore, to the Princess an increased severity of discipline in the management of her nephew, the Emperor remarked to his sisters that he had observed with concern the boy's unpromising conduct and manners, and that it was very doubtful how the man would grow up. This opinion was conveyed by Queen Eleanor to Philip II., who had requested his aunt to note carefully the impression made by his son; and it is said to have laid the foundation for the aversion which the King entertained towards Carlos.

[1] Of these, one of the latest and most plausible in his view is Don Adolfo de Castro. See his agreeable work, *Historia de los Protestantes Españoles*, 8vo, Cadiz, 1851, pp. 243–319, or *The Spanish Protestants*, translated by T. Parker, fcap. 8vo, London, 1851, pp. 278–339, in which, however, I cannot admit that he makes out his case.

CHAPTER III.

THE CASTLE OF XARANDILLA.

Emperor leaves Valladolid,

SINCE the Emperor had turned fifty, and had begun to lose his teeth, he had ceased to eat in public, or at least performed that royal function in private as often as good policy permitted.[1] On the 4th November he exhibited himself at table to his subjects for the last time, dining about noon before as many of the citizens of Valladolid as chose to attend and could find standing room in the apartment. Immediately afterwards he bade farewell to the Princess-Regent and her nephew, and set forward on his journey to Estremadura, dismissing, at the Campo

4th Nov.

[1] Joan Gin. Sepulveda, *De Rebus gestis Caroli V.*, lib. xxx. c. 25; *Opera*, 4 tom. 4to, Madriti, 1780, ii. p. 528.

CH. III.
1556.

gate, a crowd of grandees who had wished to ride for some miles beside his litter.

The followers whom he had brought from Burgos continued to attend him, with a small escort of horse and a company of forty halberdiers commanded by a lieutenant. They had not gone far over the naked plain, patched here and there with stubby vine-

Illness.

yards, when the Emperor complained of illness, and halted his litter. His servants retired with him into a wayside garden, and by the application of hot cushions to his stomach, he was soon sufficiently restored to proceed. At the ferry of the broad Duero he looked towards the fortress of Simancas, which rose on its round hill-top out of the plain a few miles higher up the river, and remarked to Quixada that he hoped the thirty thousand ducats, with which he counted upon paying his people, had been lodged there in safety. The day's march of four leagues

Valdestillas, 4th Nov.

closed at Valdestillas, a village seated amongst low woods of melancholy pine.

Medina del Campo, 5th Nov.

The next day's journey, which was somewhat shorter, brought the party to Medina del Campo, a fine old historical town in a singularly bad site, with a grand collegiate church presiding over many other religious buildings, and a noble hospital, well supplied with patients by the miasma which rose from the stagnating Zapardiel that crept beneath the walls. Here was an ancient residence of the crown

of Castile, called La Mota, a stately pile hallowed by the deathbed of Isabella the Catholic. The Emperor, however, was not lodged there, but in the house of one Rodrigo de Dueñas, a rich money-broker, whither he was conducted by the authorities and by most of the inhabitants, who had met him at the gate. His host, imitating, perhaps unconsciously, the splendid Fuggers of Augsburg, had provided, amongst other luxuries for the Emperor's use, a chafing-dish of gold, filled not with the usual charred vine-tendrils, but with the finest cinnamon of Ceylon. Charles was so displeased with this piece of ostentation, that he refused, very uncourteously and unreasonably as it seems, to allow the poor capitalist to kiss his hand, and on going away next day, ordered his night's lodging to be paid for.[1] From Medina he privately sent one of his chaplains to Tordesillas to observe the state and service of the chapel which he had endowed there for the benefit of the souls of his parents.

In the course of the third day's march he remarked to his attendants that, thank God! they were now getting beyond the reach of state and ceremony, and that there would be now no more visits to make or receive, or receptions to undergo.

[1] This story is told by Gonzalez, but whether on the authority of a letter does not appear.

CH. III.

1556.

Horcajo de las Torres, 6th Nov.

Six or seven leagues, still over vast bare undulating plains, where the plough feebly contended with the waste, brought them to Horcajo de las Torres, a lone village, built on a windswept tableland. The fourth day was marked by an improvement in the weather, which had hitherto been rainy, and by the arrival of a courier from court with a supply of potted anchovies and other favourite fish for the Emperor. He was also presented with an offering of eels, trouts, and barbel, by the townspeople of Peñaranda, where he rested for the night in the mansion of the Bracamontes. The road now approached the southern hills, and entered the straggling woods of evergreen oak which clothe the base and become dense on the lower slopes of the wild sierra of Bejar, the centre of that mountain chain which forms the backbone of the Peninsula, stretching from Moncayo in Aragon to the rock of Lisbon on the Atlantic.

Peñaranda, 7th Nov.

In the fifth day's march the Emperor began to feel the keenness of the mountain air; the little chafing-dish was constantly in his hand; and the previous night having been chilly, he sent forward a messenger to superintend the warming of his room at Alaraz, a village sweetly nestled in the valley of the Gamo. Here he wrote to the King on the morning of the 9th November; and sleeping that night at Gallegos de Solmiron, he arrived on the 10th at

Alaraz, 8th Nov.

Gallegos de Solmiron, 9th Nov.

Barco de Avila, a small walled town, finely placed in a rich vale, overhung by the lofty sierras of Bejar and Gredos, and watered by the fresh stream of the Tormes, dear to the angler and to the lyric muse of Castile. A second courier from court here overtook the party, with some eider-down cushions for the Emperor, who was much pleased with their warmth and lightness, and said he would have them made into jackets and dressing-gowns for his own use. The eighth day's march, of six or seven mountain leagues, was the hardest they had yet encountered. The road, constantly ascending the rocky and wood-clad steeps, was extremely bad; and, although the country people, whom they met, aided in overcoming the difficulties of the way, the cavalcade did not reach the halting-place at Tornavacas until after dark. The Emperor, however, bore the fatigue with all the spirit and somewhat of the strength of his younger days; he was even able, on his arrival, to go out to see the villagers fish the pools of the Xerte by torchlight; and he afterwards supped heartily on the fine trout taken in the course of that picturesque sport.

Barco de Avila, 10th Nov.

Tornavacas, 11th Nov.

He was now within six or seven leagues of Xarandilla, the village in the neighbourhood of Yuste where he proposed to remain until his conventual abode was ready. His original intention had been to go thither by way of Plasencia, and thence along

CH. III.
1556.

the Vera, or valley, in which the village stood. But from Tornavacas there led to Xarandilla a track across the mountains, by which a day's journey could be saved, and Plasencia, with its episcopal and municipal civilities, avoided. This shorter, but far rougher road, the Emperor determined to face. He set out on his last march in good time on the morning of the 12th November, his cavalcade being swelled by a great band of the last night's fishermen, and other peasants, who carried planks and poles, relieved the bearers of the chairs, led the mules, and pointed out the way. This assistance was not only useful but necessary, the road being as wild a mountain-path as mule ever traversed. Overhung, for the most part, with the bare boughs of great oaks and chestnuts, the narrow and slippery track sometimes skirted, sometimes crossed, torrents swollen with the late rains, wound beneath toppling crags, climbed the edges of frightful precipices, and reached the culminating horror in the pass of Puertonuevo, a chasm, rugged and steep as a broken staircase, which cleft the topmost crest of the siérra. On this airy height, the traveller, pausing to take breath, suddenly sees the fair Vera unrolled, in all its green length, at his feet. Girdled with its mountain wall, this nine-league stretch of pasture and forest, broken here and there with village roofs and convent belfries, slopes gently to the west, where

Pass of Puerto-nuevo.

CH. III. 1556.

beautiful Plasencia, crowned with cathedral towers and throned on a terrace of rock, sits queenlike amongst vineyards and gardens, and the silver windings of the Xerte.

The Emperor was charmed with the aspect of his promised land. "Is this indeed the Vera!" said he, gazing intently at the landscape at his feet. He then turned his eye to the north, into the forest-mantled gorge, between the beetling rocks of the Puertonuevo; "Now," he said, looking back, as it were, through the gates of the world he was leaving, "'tis the last pass I shall ever go through." *Ya no pasaré otro puerto.*[1] During the ascent and descent, he was carried in a chair, the stout and vigilant Quixada marching at his side, pike in hand. They reached Xarandilla before sunset, and alighted at the castle of the Count of Oropesa, the great feudal lord of the vicinity, and head of an ancient branch of the Toledos. The Flemings were overcome with fatigue and with disgust at the obstacles which every step had put between themselves and home. But all agreed that the Emperor bore the journey remarkably well, and did not appear greatly wearied at its close. He chose a bedroom different from that allotted to him by his host; and requested

Xarandilla, 12th Nov.

[1] *Puerto* has in Spanish the double signification of "gate" and "mountain pass."

CH. III.
1556.

that a fireplace might be immediately added to the chamber which he was afterwards to occupy.[1]

Vera of Plasencia.

Xarandilla was, and still is, the most considerable village in the Vera of Plasencia, a city so called by its founder on account of the beauty of its site, and its "pleasantness to saints and men." Walled to the north by lofty sierras, and watered by abundant streams, its mild climate, rich soil, and perpetual verdure, led some patriotic scholars of Estremadura to identify this beautiful valley with the Elysium of Homer—"the green land without snow, or winter, or showers"—in spite of the "soft-blowing sea-breeze" which refreshed the Homeric paradise and the torrents of rain which sometimes deluged the Iberian dale. With greater plausibility the Vera was conjectured to have been the scene where Sertorius fell by the traitor-hand of Perperna.[2] Saintly history also deemed it hallowed, in the seventh century, by

[1] In this itinerary, from Valladolid to Xarandilla, I am without means of computing the distances with any certainty—

		Leagues.
Nov. 4, Tuesday,	Valladolid to Valdestillas	4
5, Wednesday,	Medina del Campo	3½
6, Thursday,	Horcajo de las Torres	3
7, Friday,	Peñaranda	4
8, Saturday,	Alaraz	4
9, Sunday,	Gallegos de Solmiron	3
10, Monday,	Barco de Avila	3
11, Tuesday,	Tornavacas	6 or 7
12, Wednesday,	Xarandilla	6 or 7
	In all	36½ to 38½ leagues.

[2] Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, lib. i.

the last labours of St. Magnus of Ireland,[1] and, in the eighth century, by the martyrdom of fourteen Andalusian bishops slain in one massacre by the Saracen. The fair valley was unquestionably famous throughout Spain for its wine, oil, chestnuts, and citrons, for its magnificent timber, for the deer, bears, wolves, and all other animals of the chase, which abounded in its woods, and for the delicate trout which peopled its mountain waters.[2]

Reasons for Emperor's choice of his retreat.

The reasons which guided Charles V. in his choice of a retreat have never been satisfactorily explained. There is no direct evidence that he had even visited the Vera before he came there to die.[3]

[1] He was a prior of a convent at Garganta la Olla. J. de Tamayo Salazar, *San Epitacio de Tui*, 4to, Madrid, 1646, p. 42; and *Sancti Hispani*, 6 vols. fol., Lugd. 1657, v. p. 68. The fact, however, is disputed, and the honour claimed for the Alps, and a place called *Fuessen*, supposed to be derived from *Fauces*, of which *Garganta* is also a translation. Theodore of St. Gall, who wrote the life of St. Magnus (printed by J. Messingham, *Florilegium Sanct. Hiberniæ*, 4to, Paris, 1624, p. 296), is entirely silent as to the claims of the Vera.

[2] "La Xariella de Juste es buen monte de puerco en verano, e en tiempo de los panes: e non ha bozeria.* E es el armada en las navas."—*Libro de la monteria que mondo escrivir el . . Rey D. Alonso.* Acrecentado por G. Argote de Molina, fol. Sevilla, 1582, lib. iii. cap. xviii. fol. 70.

[3] Robertson (*Charles V.*, b. xii.) cites no authority for his account of the matter. "From Valladolid," says he, "he [the Emperor] continued his journey to Plasencia [a town which, as we have seen, he purposely avoided]. He had passed through this place a great many years before; and having been struck at that time with the delightful situation of the monastery of St. Justus, belonging to the Order of St. Jerome, not many miles distant from the town, he had then observed to some of his

* I cannot find in the *Diccionaria de la Academia*, or any other, "vozeria" in this sense.

CH. III. 1556.

It is possible that the patriotism of some Estremaduran companion in arms, and his talk on the march or by the camp fire, may have obtained for his native province the honour of being the scene of the Emperor's evening of life. While making the pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, in April 1525,[1] or during the few days which he spent at Oropesa on his way to Seville, in February 1526,[2] it is not improbable that love of the chase may have tempted Charles to penetrate the surrounding forests, and that the sylvan valley may have remained pictured in his memory as the very solitude for some future Diocletian. In 1534 he was at Salamanca, visiting his old tutor, Bishop Luis Cabeza de Vaca, and undergoing the pompous and pedantic homage of the university;[3] and it is also

attendants that this was a spot to which Diocletian might have retired with pleasure. The impression had remained so strong on his mind that he pitched upon it as the place of his own retreat." M. Juste, *L'Abdication*, repeats the story, and assigns the incident to the date 1542, but, like Robertson, gives no authority either for the story or the date. From the *Itinerary of the Emperor*, by Vandenesse, from 1519 to 1551, printed in Bradford's *Correspondence*, we learn (pp. 531-5) that in 1542 Charles was never nearer to Yuste than Valladolid. [Prescott, *The Life of Charles the Fifth after his Abdication—Charles V.*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, vol. ii. p. 531, says, "There is no evidence that he had ever seen it."]

[1] Fr. Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe*, 4to, Toledo, 1597. The letter of brotherhood, *carta de hermandad*, given to the Emperor, printed at fol. 210, is dated 21st April 1525.

[2] *Itinerary of the Emperor*, by Vandenesse, in Bradford's *Correspondence*, p. 490. He remained at Oropesa (erroneously written *Aropesa*) from the 25th to the end of February.

[3] Gil Gonçalez de Avila, *Historia de Salamanca*, 4to, Salamanca, 1606, p. 475.

possible that in that journey he may have had a glimpse of his final resting-place. But there was no palace or hunting-seat of the crown near enough to the Vera to have made him naturally familiar with so remote a spot; nor do the annals of Yuste, or even of Plasencia, contain any record of an imperial visit either to the sequestered convent or to the pleasant city. Of the natural charms of the place he may have heard enough to attract him thither; but the reputation of the valley for salubrity, which seems to have been scarcely deserved,[1] was probably rather the consequence than the cause of its being chosen for his retreat by the monarch of the fairest portions of Europe.

Village and castle of Xarandilla.

The village of Xarandilla is seated on the side of the sierra of Xaranda, and near the confluence of two mountain torrents which fall from the rugged Peñanegra. Its chief feature is the parish church of Our Lady of the Tower, perched on a mass of rock forty feet high, and approached by steep and narrow stairs, which give it the appearance of a place rather of defence than devotion. The mansion of

[1] Mariana (*De Reb. Hisp.*, lib. xi. cap. 14, fol. Toleti, 1582, p. 533) gives the city of Plasencia an opposite character. The site was called Ambroz, but Alonso VIII. changed the name—"quod nomen Placentiæ appellatione mutari placuit, ominis causas quasi divis et hominibus placituræ et ex regionis amœnitate, quamvis cœli salubritate non eadem." This passage is cited by Fr. Alonso Fernandez, in his *Historia y Anales de Plasencia*, fol. Madrid, 1627, p. 6, with the suppression, rather patriotic than honest, of the latter damaging clause.

CH. III. 1556.

the Oropesas, built in the feudal style, with corner towers, has long been in ruins; and of its imperial inmate the village has preserved no other memorial than a fountain, which is still called the fountain of the Emperor, in the garden of a deserted monastery once belonging to the Order of St. Augustine.

Here Charles remained for nearly three months, awaiting the completion of the works at Yuste. His abode, though only an occasional residence of his host, Fernando, fourth Count of Oropesa, was commodious in all save fireplaces, and, in the opinion of his attendants, was handsomely furnished and fitted up. He installed himself in a room with a southern aspect, opening upon a covered gallery, and overlooking a flower-garden planted with orange trees. For a few days he lived as the Count's guest, but finding that his stay might be indefinitely prolonged, he afterwards commenced housekeeping on his own account. On the 18th November, therefore, Oropesa and his brother, Francisco Alvarez de Toledo, who had been Viceroy of Peru,[1] and ambassador to the Council of Trent, took their leave, and returned to their usual home, somewhere on their adjoining estates, which extended far into the Vera on one side, and across the mountain to Tornavacas on the other.

Count of Oropesa.

[1] P. de Rojas, *Discursos Genealógicos*, 4to, Toledo, 1636, p. 111.

Bad weather.

During the whole month of November the weather was cold and stormy, giving a cheerless prospect of the winter climate of Estremadura. Rain fell every day, sometimes in torrents, and was followed by fogs, sometimes so thick, that a man became invisible at the distance of twelve paces. Yuste, on its wooded hillside, was wrapped in a mantle of perpetual and impenetrable mist. For whole days it was scarcely possible for an invalid to leave the house, the streets of Xarandilla being canals of muddy water, through which Luis Quixada waded from his lodging to his daily duties, in fisherman's boots made of felt and cowhide.

Emperor's interest in public affairs.

Meanwhile the Emperor, wrapped in a robe of eider-down made from the Princess's cushions, sat by the fireside, in good health and spirits, attended by the secretary Gaztelu, who read to him the despatches which arrived almost daily from Valladolid, and wrote replies from his dictation. The course of events in Flanders was watched by Charles with especial interest; he was always eager for intelligence, and Gaztelu never finished reading a letter without being asked if there was no more.

Pope Paul IV. and

By a remarkable coincidence, the year which saw the Emperor descend from his throne, at the age of fifty-six, to prepare for his tomb, likewise saw a newly-elected Pope plunging, at the age of eighty, into the vortex of political strife, with all the reck-

CH. III.
1556.

less ardour of a boy. The two men seemed to have changed characters as well as places. Charles, the most ambitious of princes, was about to turn monk; Caraffa, the most studious and ascetic of monks, bursting from that chrysalis state, shone forth as the most splendid and restless sovereign in Europe. No Gregory or Alexander ever played the old pontifical game of usurpation and nepotism with more arrogance and audacity than Paul IV. Since Clement stole from his sacked city and beleaguered castle in the cuirass and jack-boots of a trooper, the Popes had taken care to exert, only in the gentlest manner, their paternal authority over the house of Hapsburg. But Paul, as if his studies had never been disturbed by the trumpets of Bourbon, flung experience and prudence to the winds. Hating Spain with the hatred of an hereditary bondsman, the old volcanic Neapolitan poured forth against her torrents of the foulest abuse, and, sitting in the pastoral chair of St. Peter, he denounced the Spanish portion of his Christian flock as "heretics, schismatics, accursed of God, the spawn of Jews and Moors, the offscouring of the earth."[1] He had,

[1] "Heretici, scismatici, et maladetti de Dio, seme de' Giudei et de' Marrani, feccia del mondo." Cited by Federigo Badovaro in his *Relatione*, 1557, made to his government as ambassador from Venice to the King of Spain, of which an account is given in an interesting paper by M. Marchal in the *Bulletins de l'Academie royale des sciences et belles lettres de Bruxelles*, tom. xii. 1re partie, 1845, p. 63.

besides, an ancient feud with the house of Austria, on account of the punishments inflicted on the Caraffas who had joined the French during the foray of Lautrec, and also a personal grudge, for opposition made to his own elevation to the archbishopric of Naples.[1] War seemed to offer a prospect, not only of gratifying his hatred with sharper weapons than words, but of paying off old scores and of providing his needy nephews with desirable duchies. The antiquated claims of the Papacy on Naples as a Church fief furnished a ready cause of quarrel; and Paul at once invited the Grand Turk to land in Sicily, and lured France across the Alps, by holding out such hopes of an Italian crown as no French king has ever been able to realise or resist. Henry II., only a few months before, had concluded a truce for five years with the King of Spain. But at the call of the minister of truth and peace, whose hereditary device happened to bear the canting motto, *Cara Fé*, he was ready to commit any profitable perfidy and undertake any promising war. The Admiral Coligny was therefore sent to carry fire and sword into Flanders; and the gallant Francis of Lorraine, Duke of Guise, the ablest

Henry II. of France combine against Philip II.

Coligny invades Flanders.

Duke of Guise

[1] Dom. Ant. Parrino, *Teatro de' governi de' Vicere di Napoli*, 2 vols. 4to, Napoli, 1770, i. pp. 142–3; Bat. Platina, *Historia dei sommi Pontifici*, 4to, Venetia, 1592, fol. 356.

CH. III.

1556.

invades Naples.

Flanders defended by Duke of Savoy.

general in France, led twenty thousand of her best troops into Italy.

Philip II., too faithless himself to be surprised at the bad faith of his royal brother, took vigorous measures to frustrate his endeavours. He gave the military command, as well as the civil government, of the Netherlands to Duke Emanuel Philibert of Savoy; he entrusted the Duke of Alba with the defence of Naples; and he himself passed into England, and secured the co-operation of the love-sick Mary, in the teeth of her distrustful and Spain-hating ministers and people.

After a lapse of three centuries, Emanuel Philibert still ranks as the most able and honest prince of that royal line of Savoy, in which, although ability has seldom been wanting, geography seems to have rendered honesty almost impossible.[1] His father, Duke Charles, in the long wars between Francis I. and Charles V., had been nearly stripped of his territory. Part was conquered by his nephew and enemy, the King; and part was held for security's sake in the strong grasp of his brother-in-law and friend, the Emperor. When his life and injuries were ended, his son Emanuel Philibert found the port of Nice and a few remote valleys of highland Piedmont

[1] "La Géographie les empêche d'etre honnêtes gens." Prince de Ligne, *Mélanges*, 5 tom. 8vo, Paris, 1829, v. p. 29.

the sole dominion of the house which claimed the crowns of Cyprus and Jerusalem. Happily the young Ironhead, as he was called, had early foreseen that the career of a soldier of fortune was the one path by which he could hope to regain his position among the princes of Europe. He therefore gave himself, heart and soul, to the profession of arms, and, having served with distinction under his imperial uncle in Germany and Flanders, he was already, though still under thirty, reckoned one of the best captains in the service of Spain.[1]

Duke of Alba

Ferdinand, Duke of Alba, became, in his old age, the last of the great soldiers of Castile. His grandfather, the first Duke, under the Catholic King, had led the Christian chivalry to the leaguer of Granada; his father had left his bones among the Moors in the African isle of Zerbi; and he himself had fought by the side of the Emperor on the banks of the Danube, beneath the walls of Tunis, in Provence and Dauphiny, and in the Protestant Electorates. He had held independent commands of importance in Catalonia and Navarre; he had defended Perpignan for two months against Francis I. with a greatly superior force, and so had foiled the French king's projected invasion of Spain;[2] and he had

[1] *Histoire d'Emanuel Philibert*, 12mo, Amsterdam, 1693, p. 5.
[2] In 1542. J. A. Froude, *History of England*, vol. iv. pp. 174-5.

CH. III.
1556.

commanded in chief in the campaign which closed with the victory at Muhlberg and the capture of the Duke of Saxony. These triumphs had been clouded by his repulse from Metz, and his late reverses in the Milanese; but the stern disciplinarian was still

hardly past the prime of life, and in full favour with his sovereign; and he joined the army of Naples, resolved to win back on the Roman Campagna the laurels which he had lost on the plains of the Po.[1]

defends Naples.

[1] J. V. Rustant, *Historia del Duque de Alva*, 2 tom. 4to, Madrid, 1751; a book which seems to be little more than a translation of the rare Latin life by Osorio. This famous leader is held very cheap by Badovaro

Infanta Mary of Portugal.

Besides the momentous affairs of Italy and the Netherlands, several minor matters claimed and obtained the Emperor's attention. Foremost amongst them stood the negotiations with the court of Portugal, touching the Infanta Mary. Queen Eleanor, the mother of this princess, had not seen her since the time when she herself had been recalled, in her first widowhood, to Castile by the Emperor, and had left her baby under the care of her half-brother, John III. She parted with her sadly against her will, and only because the usages of Portugal and the clamours of the city of Lisbon did not permit an Infanta to leave the kingdom. It had since been the main object of the fond mother's heart to negotiate for her daughter such a marriage as should set her free from this thraldom, and once more reunite them. She had first affianced her to the Dauphin, who did not live to fulfil his engagement; and she afterwards vainly endeavoured to match her

in his *Relatione*, already quoted at p. 80. He accuses him not only of ignorance of military affairs, but even of cowardice, and asserts that his appointment to the chief command in Germany astonished the whole army, and was a mere job to please the Spaniards, which the Emperor consented to because he had made up his mind to do the whole work himself. As regards Charles, this statement is so improbable, that it may well be supposed to rest on the authority of some of the numerous enemies of Alba, who hated him for his haughty manners and severe discipline. It is certain that he had every opportunity of learning his profession in all the imperial wars, that the Emperor himself employed him at Metz, and that in his old age he was so far superior to any other general in the Spanish service, that Philip II. entrusted him, though in disgrace at the time, with the conquest of Portugal.

CH. III. 1556.

with Maximilian, King of Bohemia, and Philip of Castile.[1] In following her brother and sister to Spain, Eleanor was much influenced by the hope of inducing her daughter to come and reside with her in that country. Philip II. also seemed desirous of making some amends for his ungenerous treatment of the Infanta, by marrying her to their mutual cousin, the Archduke Charles of Austria. John III. of Portugal, her guardian, was likewise solicitous to provide her with a husband, and had offered her hand, not only to the Archduke, but also to the Emperor Ferdinand his father, and to the Duke of Savoy, without success.[2] Dispirited by these mortifications, Mary herself turned her thoughts to the natural refuge of a love-lorn damsel of thirty-six—the cloister; and the falseness of Philip had filled her heart with bitterness towards Spain and her Spanish kindred, and with distrust of any proposal which came from beyond the Guadiana. She even demurred about complying with the desire of her mother, that they should meet on the frontier of the two kingdoms; and the King of Portugal sustained her objections, on the ground that he did not wish her to be inveigled into taking the veil in a Spanish nunnery. The Emperor had already

[1] Damiam de Goes, *Chronica do Rei Dom Emanuel*, 4 tom. fol. Lisbon, 1566–67, iv. p. 84.

[2] Meneses, *Chronica de D. Sebastiaõ*, p. 69.

declined his son's invitation to interfere, but he now found it impossible to resist the entreaties of his sisters and the Princess-Regent. He therefore allowed the Portuguese ambassador, Don Sancho de Cordova, to come to Xarandilla on the 29th November, and gave him several audiences during his two days' stay.

Navarre.

King Anthony of Navarre, as he was called in France, in right of his wife, or the Duke of Vendôme, as he was styled in Spain, had also contrived to gain the Emperor's attention to his proposals.[1] His emissary, M. Ezcurra, therefore presented himself at Xarandilla, on the 3rd December, and was dismissed with a letter, written in cipher, to the secretary Vazquez.

Barbary.

On the 8th December there arrived a Jew of Barbary, bringing with him papers to prove that the King of France was negotiating a secret treaty at Fez, by which it was rendered probable that Moorish rovers would soon revenge on the coasts of Spain the ravages committed by the Spanish troops on the frontiers of Picardy. The informer was sent on to Valladolid, on the 9th, with a letter to the secretary of state.

Buildings at Yuste.

The progress of the works at Yuste, and the preparations for removal thither, were subjects of

[1] Supra, chap. ii. p. 64.

CH. III. 1556.

everyday discussion. The new buildings had been commenced more than three years before, the first money being paid for the purpose on the 30th July 1553. Gaspar de Vega, one of the best of the royal architects, gave the plans, working, however, it is said, from a sketch drawn by the Emperor's own hand. Yuste was visited on the 24th May 1554, by Philip, at the desire of his father, as he was on his road to England. He assisted at the procession of Corpus Christi, inspected the works with great minuteness, and slept a night in the convent. The control of the cash and the general superintendence of the building was entrusted to Fray Juan de Ortega, general of the Jeronymites, and Fray Melchor de Pie de Concha. Ortega was a man of ability and learning, who enjoyed for a time the reputation of having written *Lazarillo de Tormes*, the charming parent of those picaresque stories in which modern fiction had its birth. Certain reforms which he attempted to introduce into the rule of his order met with so much opposition and odium, that he was deposed from the generalship, when his successor, Tofiño, thought fit to remove him and his assistant, Concha, from their functions at Yuste. The Emperor, however, was highly indignant at this interference, and immediately replaced them in their duties, which they continued to discharge at the time of his arrival at Xarandilla.

The greatest secrecy had been enjoined as to the purpose of these architectural operations, and Charles had evinced much displeasure on learning that his intention of retiring to the monastery had been spoken of in the country, owing to the indiscreet tattling of the friars. Ortega, as well as the general Tofiño, had been summoned to meet him at Valladolid, and now at Xarandilla they and the prior of Yuste had long and frequent audiences. On the 22nd November, in spite of the rain and fog, the Emperor got into his litter, and went over to the convent, to inspect the state of the works for himself. It being the feast of St. Catherine, it was his first care to perform his devotions in the church. Notwithstanding the gloom of the weather and the wintry forest, he declared himself satisfied with what he saw, and ordered forty beds to be prepared,—twenty for masters and twenty for servants,—as speedily as possible. Precautions had been taken to light fires in all the four fireplaces; and in his progress through the apartments he was glad to rest and warm himself at each of them.[1] His intention was to remain at Xarandilla until the arrival of certain books and papers, which it was necessary to consult before settling with the domestics whom he

Emperor visits Yuste.

[1] M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite de Charles-Quint, analyse d'un Manuscrit Espagnol contemporain, par un religieux de l'ordre de Saint-Jérôme à Yuste*, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1850, p. 21.

CH. III.
1556.

was about to discharge; but he hoped to remove to the convent in the middle of December.

Discontent of his household.

Meanwhile, the household, especially the Flemish and more numerous portion of it, was in a state of discontent bordering on mutiny. The chosen paradise of the master was regarded by the servants as a sort of hell upon earth. To all that they could urge against the salubrity of Yuste, Charles either was wholly deaf, or replied with the proverb, "The lion is not so fierce"—or, as we say, the devil is not so black—"as he is painted!" *No es tan bravo el leon como le pintan.* The mayordomo and the secretary therefore poured, by every post, their griefs into the ear of the secretary of state. The Count of Oropesa, wrote Luis Quixada, had been driven away from Xarandilla by the damp, and Yuste was well known to be far damper than Xarandilla. His Majesty had been pleased to approve of the abode prepared for him, but he himself had likewise been there, and knew that it was full of defects and discomfort. The rooms were too small, the windows too large; the window which opened from the Emperor's bedroom into the church would not command the elevation of the host at the high altar; and if service were performed at one of the side altars, where the officiating monk could be seen by His Majesty in bed, His Majesty in bed would be seen by the monk. In spite of the glass and the shutters,

Quixada.

he feared that the Emperor would be disturbed during the night when the hours were chanted. The apartments on the ground floor were in utter darkness, and reeking with moisture; the garden was paltry, the orange-trees few, and the boasted prospect, what was it but a hill and some oak-trees? Nevertheless, he hoped the place might prove better than it promised; and he entreated the secretary not to show his letter to her highness, nor to tell her of the disparaging tone in which he had written about Yuste.

Gaztelu.

Gaztelu was equally desponding. Some of the friars were to be drafted off into other convents, to make room for the new-comers; and none being willing to forego the chances of imperial favour, fierce dissensions had arisen on this point, and had even reached the Emperor's ears. It seemed as if His Majesty must adjust these quarrels himself, or seek another retreat, which would be much against his inclination; but, indeed, what good could be expected to come of wishing to live among friars? The quartermaster, Ruggier, in reporting progress, had ventured to complain of the want of servants' accommodation. At this the Emperor was very angry, and telling him that he wanted his service and not his advice, said he must find means of lodging twenty-one of the people at Yuste, and the rest at Quacos, "a place," added Gaztelu piteously, "worse than Xarandilla." Still more was the Emperor

CH. III. 1556.

exasperated at a letter which he received from the Queen of Hungary, entreating him to think twice before he settled in a spot "so unhealthy as Yuste;" and he expressed great wrath against those who had given her such information, and whom he suspected to be Monsieur de la Chaulx and the doctor Cornelio, who had lately come from court. Poor La Chaulx might well be excused if he had given an unfavourable report of the climate; he was not the man he had been when he led the ball at the Emperor's wedding, in the Alcazar at Seville; and he continued to burn and shiver with violent ague fits. The doctor found a good many patients in the lower ranks of the household. In spite, however, of these various distresses, the Flemings, according to the testimony of the Castilians, looked fair and fat, and fed voraciously on the "hams and other bucolic meats" of Estremadura, a province still unrivalled in swine and savoury preparations of pork.

Emperor's love of eating.

In this matter of eating, as in many other habits, the Emperor was himself a true Fleming. His early tendency to gout was increased by his indulgences at table, which generally far exceeded his feeble powers of digestion. Roger Ascham, standing "hard by the imperial table at the feast of Golden Fleece," watched with wonder the Emperor's progress through "sod beef, roast mutton, baked hare," after which "he fed well of a capon," drinking, also, says the

fellow of St. John's, "the best that ever I saw; he had his head in the glass five times as long as any of them, and never drank less than a good quart at once of Rhenish wine."[1] In his Commentaries, Charles has himself confessed that it was only in his eleventh attack of gout, which tormented him from December 1543 till Easter 1544, that he would submit to the severe regimen and dietary imposed by his physician.[2] Even in his worst days of gout and dyspepsia, before setting out from Flanders, the fulness and frequency of the meals which occurred between his spiced milk in the morning and his heavy supper at night, so amazed an envoy of Venice,[3] that he thought them worthy of especial notice in his despatch to the Senate. The Emperor's palate, he reported, was, like his stomach, quite worn out; he was ever complaining of the sameness and insipidity of the meats served at his table; and the chamberlain, Monfalconet, protested, in despair, that he knew not how the cook was to please his master, unless he were to gratify his taste for culinary novelty and chronometrical mechanism, by sending him up a pasty of watches.

[1] *Works of Roger Ascham*, 4to, London, 1761, p. 375.

[2] *Commentaires de Charles-Quint*, publiés pour la première fois, par Le Baron Kervyn de Lettenhove, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1862, pp. 94-5. [*The Autobiography of the Emperor Charles V.*, the English translation by Leonard Francis Simpson, sm. 8vo, London, 1862, p. 72.]

[3] Badovaro. Supra, p. 80.

CH. III.
1556.

Eating was now the only physical gratification which he could still enjoy, or was unable to resist. Like Frederick the Great, who died of his polenta, he continued, therefore, to dine to the last upon the rich dishes, against which his ancient and trusty confessor, Cardinal Loaysa, had protested a quarter of a century before.[1] The supply of his table was a main subject of the correspondence between the mayordomo and the secretary of state. The weekly courier from Valladolid to Lisbon was ordered to change his route that he might bring every Thursday a provision of eels and other rich fish (*pescado grueso*) for Friday's fast. There was a constant demand for anchovies, tunny, and other potted fish, and sometimes a complaint that the trouts of the country were too small; the olives, on the other hand, were too large, and the Emperor wished, instead, for olives of Perejon. One day, the secretary of state was asked for some partridges from Gama, a place from whence the Emperor remembered that the Count of Osorno once sent him, into Flanders, "some of the best partridges in the world."[2]

Partridges from Gama.

[1] *Cartas al Emp. Carlos V. escritas en los años de* 1530-32. *Copiadas de las autografas en el archivo de Simancas.* Par G. Heine. 8vo, Berlin, 1848, p. 69.

[2] The Count managed that they should reach Flanders in perfect condition by putting rust in their mouths, "echandoles orin en la boca." The Emperor considered that this singular preservative would not be necessary in the present journey.

Another day, sausages were wanted "of the kind which the Queen Juana, now in glory, used to pride herself in making, in the Flemish fashion, at Tordesillas," and for the recipe for which the secretary is referred to the Marquis of Denia. Both orders were punctually executed. The sausages, although sent to a land supreme in that manufacture, gave great satisfaction. Of the partridges, the Emperor said that they used to be better, ordering, however, the remainder to be pickled.

Sausages from Tordesillas.

The Emperor's weakness being generally known or soon discovered, dainties of all kinds were sent to him as presents. Mutton, pork, and game were the provisions most easily obtained at Xarandilla; but they were dear. The bread was indifferent, and nothing was good and abundant but chestnuts, the staple food of the people. But in a very few days the castle larder wanted for nothing. One day the Count of Oropesa sent an offering of game; another day, a pair of fat calves arrived from the Archbishop of Zaragoza; the Archbishop of Toledo and the Duchess of Frias were constant and magnificent in their gifts of venison, fruit, and preserves; and supplies of all kinds came at regular intervals from Seville and from Portugal.

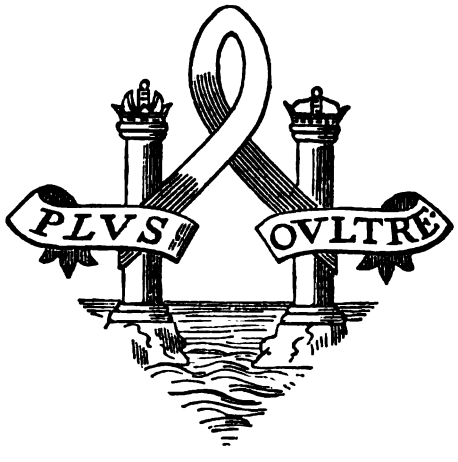
Presents for Emperor's larder.

Luis Quixada, who knew the Emperor's habits and constitution well, beheld with dismay these long trains of mules laden, as it were, with gout and bile.

Quixada's fears.

CH. III.
1556.

He never acknowledged the receipt of the good things from Valladolid without adding some dismal forebodings of consequent mischief; and along with an order he sometimes conveyed a hint that it would be much better if no means were found of executing it. If the Emperor made a hearty meal without being the worse for it, the mayordomo noted the fact with exultation; and he remarked with complacency His Majesty's fondness for plovers, which he considered harmless. But his office of purveyor was more commonly exercised under protest; and he interposed between his master and an eel-pie as, in other days, he would have thrown himself between the imperial person and the point of a Moorish lance.



CHAPTER IV.

SERVANTS AND VISITORS.

Household of the Emperor.

IT was during the Emperor's stay at Xarandilla, that his household was joined by the friar of the Order of St. Jerome, whom he had chosen as his confessor. To this important post Juan de Regla was perhaps fairly entitled, by his professional distinction; and he was certainly one of those monks who knew how to make ladders, to place and favour, of the ropes which girt their ascetic loins. An Aragonese by birth, he first saw the light in a peasant's hut,[1] on the mountains of Jaca, in 1500, the same year in which the future Cæsar, who was destined to be his

Confessor, Fr. Juan de Regla.

[1] Latassa, *Bib. Arag. Nueva*, tom. i. p. 314, says he was of a "casa solariega," and born at Hecho.

CH. IV.
1556.

spiritual son, was born, in the halls of the house of Burgundy, in the good city of Ghent. At fourteen, he was sent to Zaragoza, to make one of the motley crew of poor scholars, so often the glory and the shame of the Spanish Church, and the delight of the picaresque literature. Obtaining as he could the rudiments of what was then held to be learning, he lived on alms—the charity soup and bread dispensed by the Jeronymites of Santa Engracia, and the Benedictines of the cathedral. During the vacations, by carrying letters or messages, sometimes as far as Barcelona, Valencia, or Madrid, he earned a little money, which he spent in books. His diligent pursuit of knowledge having attracted the notice of the fathers of Santa Engracia, their favour obtained for him the post of domestic tutor to two lads of family, who were about to enter the University of Salamanca. In that congenial abode he remained for thirteen years, in the last six of which he was released from the duties of pedagogue, and free to pursue his private reading of theology, canon law, and the biblical tongues. With his mind thus stored, he returned, in his thirty-sixth year, to Zaragoza, and received the habit of St. Jerome, in the familiar cloisters of Santa Engracia. Ere long, he had made himself the most popular confessor within its walls, young and old flocking to his chair in such crowds, that it seemed as if perpetual holy-

week were kept in the convent church. As a preacher, his success was not so great; and the critics considered his discourses to be deficient in learning, of which, nevertheless, he had enough to be chosen as one of the theologians sent in 1551 by Charles V. to represent the doctors of Aragon at the Council of Trent.[1] At his return from this honourable, but fruitless mission, he became prior of the convent whose broken meat he had once eaten; and he would have been elected to that office a second time, had not the Emperor summoned him to Xarandilla to commence a higher career of ambition, and to enter political life at the precise age at which Charles himself was retiring from it. On being introduced into the imperial presence, Regla chose to speak, in the mitre-shunning cant of his cloth, of the great reluctance which he had felt in accepting a post of such weighty responsibility. "Never fear," said Charles, somewhat maliciously, as if conscious that he was dealing with a hypocrite; "before I left Flanders, five doctors were engaged for a whole year in easing my conscience; so you will have nothing to answer for but what happens here."

[1] A sum of one thousand ducats a year was allowed him as salary, and for his travelling expenses, but he spent the greater part of it in offerings of sacramental plate and altar embroidery for the church of S^ta. Engracia. Latassa, tom. i. p. 315.

CH. IV.
1556.

Chamberlain, Luis Quixada.

It may be as well now to sketch the portraits of the other members of the imperial household, who afterwards formed the principal personages of the tiny court of Yuste. Foremost in interest as in rank stands the active mayordomo, who has already figured so frequently in this narrative, Luis Quixada, or, to give him his full Castilian appellation, Luis Mendez Quixada Manuel de Figueredo y Mendoza. He was the last of a knightly race of Old Castile, whose martial achievements, says one of its admirers, "deserve to be written with a pen plucked from the wing of the eagle that soared, in battle, over the head of Alexander."[1] The first recorded warrior of the line was Ruy Arias Quixada, who fought in 1085 under the king Don Alonso VI., at the taking of Toledo. From that siege to Isabella's crowning conquest of Granada, there was hardly a field fought in Spain where the pennon, chequered *azure* and *argent*, of a Quixada, was not displayed among the foremost banners of the Christian host. Gutierre Gonçalez Quixada, Lord of Villagarcia, was distinguished by his prowess in the tourneys, and his favour at the court of Philip I., or the Handsome. He served with distinction in the conquest of Navarre, and in the wars of the Commons

[1] Juan de Villafañe, *Vida de Doña Magdalena de Ulloa*, 4to, Salamanca, 1728, p. 16.

of Castile; and as a leader of the famous infantry of Spain, he became so renowned, that it was sufficient praise for soldiers in that service to be called as well trained and as well appointed as the soldiers of Gutierre Quixada. By his wife, Maria Manuel, Lady of Villamayor, he had four sons and a daughter. Of these children, three embraced the profession of arms; Alvaro entered the Church, and died in 1554, a dignitary of Santiago; and Anna was for many years Abbess of Las Huelgas, at Valladolid. Pedro, the eldest son, being slain before Tunis, in 1535, the family estates passed shortly afterwards, on the death of his father, to the second son Luis. Commencing his career as a page in the imperial household, Luis had likewise served with distinction in the same campaign, as a captain of foot. His sagacity allayed the discord which had arisen between the Spanish and Italians about the post of honour before Goleta;[1] and he was wounded while leading his company to the assault of its bastions.[2] At Terouanne, in the Netherlands, he was again at the head of a storming party, when his younger brother Juan fell at his side, slain by a ball from a French arquebus.[3] His services soon raised him to the grade of colonel, and he was also promoted, in the imperial household,

[1] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, lib. xxii. c. 17. [2] Ibid., c. 27.
[3] J. G. Sepulveda, *De Rebus gestis Caroli V.*, lib. xxviii. c. 27.

CH. IV.

1556.

to the post of deputy mayordomo, under the Duke of Alba, and in that capacity constantly attended the person and obtained the entire confidence of the Emperor. In 1549, he married Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, a lady of birth equal to his own, and of a nature as gentle and lovely as any which ever graced the court or the story of Castile.[1] The marriage took place at Valladolid, the bridegroom appearing by proxy, but he soon after obtained leave of absence from Bruxelles, and joined his bride in Spain. They retired for awhile to his patrimonial mansion at Villagarcia, a small town lying six leagues from Valladolid, beyond the heath of San Pedro de la Espina, in the vale of the Sequillo.

Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, wife of Quixada.

Don John of Austria.

To Quixada's care the Emperor afterwards confided his illegitimate son, in later years so famous as Don John of Austria.[2] The boy was sent to Spain in 1550, in his third year, under the name of Gerónimo, in the charge of one Francisquin Massi,[3] a favourite musician of the Emperor, who was told that he was the son of Adrian de Bues,[4] one of the gentlemen of the imperial chamber.[5] At this man's death, he

[1] Villafañe, *Vida de Doña Mag. de Ulloa*, p. 43.

[2] [*Don John of Austria, or Passages from the History of the Sixteenth Century*, by Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, Bart., 2 vols. royal 8vo, London, 1883, vol. i. p. 11, *et seq.*]

[3] [Ibid., p. 6.]

[4] [Or Dubois.]

[5] With the Emperor's will was deposited in the royal archives a packet of four papers, which appears to have been at first in the custody of Philip II., being inscribed in his handwriting, "If I die before His

remained for some time with his widow at Leganes, near Madrid, learning his letters from the curate and sacristan, running wild among the village children, or with his cross-bow ranging the corn-clad plains in pursuit of sparrows. It was not until 1554 that he was transferred to the more fitting guardianship of the Lady of Villagarcia; the imperial usher who brought him, bringing her also a letter from Quixada, commending the young stranger to her care as "the son of a great man, the writer's dear friend." Magdalena, who had no children of her own, took the pretty sunburnt boy at once to her heart, and watched over him with the tenderest solicitude; supposing, for some time, that he was the offspring of some early attachment of her lord.

Majesty, to be returned to him; if after him, to be given to my son; or, failing him, my next heir." In the first of these papers, the contents of which will be noticed more particularly in another place, the Emperor acknowledged Gerónimo to be his son, begotten, during his widowhood, of an unmarried woman in Germany, and referred his heir for further information concerning him to Adrian de Bues; or, in case of his death, to Oger Bodoarte, porter of the imperial chamber. Inside this document was the receipt granted by Massi, his wife Ana de Medina, and their son Diego, for the son of Adrian de Bues; and a sum of one hundred crowns to defray his travelling expenses to Spain, and one year's board and lodging, calculated from the 1st August 1550, and binding themselves to accept fifty ducats for his annual keep in future, and to preserve the strictest secrecy as to his parentage. This curious receipt is dated Bruxelles, 13th June 1550, and is signed by the parties, Oger Bodoarte signing for the woman, at her husband's request, she being unable to write. The documents are printed by M. W. Weiss at full length in the *Papiers d'état du Cardinal de Granvelle*, 9 tomes, Paris, 1841–52, iv. pp. 496, 499, 500. [A translation of the receipt is given in *Don John of Austria*, vol. i. p. 7.]

CH. IV.
1556.

Mystery of Don John's parentage.

Early religious training.

A fire breaking out in the house at midnight, Quixada, by rushing to the rescue of his ward before he attended to the safety of his wife, led her afterwards to suspect the truth.[1] But as long as the Emperor lived, the mayordomo never suffered her to penetrate the mystery. Amongst the neighbours Don John passed for a favourite page. The parental care of his guardians, whom he called, according to a usual mode of Castilian endearment, his uncle and aunt, he returned with the affection of a son. Doña Magdalena used to make him the dispenser of the alms of bread and money, which were given at her gate on stated days to the poor; and her efforts to imbue him with devotion towards the Blessed Virgin are supposed by his historians to have borne good fruit, in the banners, embroidered with Our Lady's image, which floated from every galley in his fleet at Lepanto. In the early part of his education, Quixada had but little share, being generally absent in attendance on the Emperor. During his brief visits to his estate, he lived the usual life of a country hidalgo, amusing himself with the chase and law, flying his hawks and carrying on a tedious plea with his tenants about manorial rights, in which he was ultimately defeated. Strongly attached to his paternal

[1] [*Don John of Austria*, vol. i. p. 13.] Villafañe, *Vida de M. de Ulloa*, p. 43.

fields on the naked plains of Old Castile, although he may have been content to exchange them for the active life of the camp or the court, it was not without many a pang that he prepared for his banishment to the wilds of Estremadura. Unconsciously pourtrayed in his own graphic letters, the best of the Yuste correspondence, he stands forth the type of the cavalier, and "old rusty Christian,"[1] of Castile —spare and sinewy of frame, and somewhat formal and severe in the cut of his beard and the fashion of his manners; in character reserved and punctilious, but true as steel to the cause espoused or the duty undertaken; keen and clear in his insight into men and things around him, yet devoutly believing his master the greatest prince that ever had been or was to be; proud of himself, his family, and his services, and inclined, in a grave decorous way, to exaggerate their importance; a true son of the Church, with an instinctive distrust of its ministers; a hater of Jews, Turks, heretics, friars, and Flemings; somewhat testy, somewhat obstinate, full of strong sense and strong prejudice; a warm-hearted, energetic, and honest man.

Secretary, Martin Gaztelu.

Martin Gaztelu, the secretary, comes next to the mayordomo in order of precedence, and in the

[1] "Cristiano viejo rancioso," *Don Quixote*, p. i. cap. xxvii., so translated by Shelton.

CH. IV. 1556.

importance of his functions. His place was one of great trust. The whole correspondence of the Emperor passed through his hands. Even the most private and confidential communications addressed to the Princess-Regent by her father, were generally written, at his dictation, by Gaztelu; for the imperial fingers were seldom sufficiently free from gout to be able to do more than add a brief postscript, in which Doña Juana was assured of the affection of her *buen padre Carlos*. The secretary had probably spent his life in the service of the Emperor; but I have been unable to learn more of his history than his letters have preserved. His epistolary style was clear, simple, and business-like, but inferior to that of Quixada in humour, and in careless graphic touch, and more sparing in glimpses of the rural life of Estremadura three hundred years ago.

William Van Male, Gentleman-of-the-Chamber.

William Van Male, or, as the Spaniards called him, Malines, or, in that Latin form in which his name still lingers in the byways of literature, Malineus, was the scholar and man of letters of the society. Born at Bruges, of a noble but decayed family, and with a learned education for his sole patrimony, he went to seek his fortune in Spain, and the service of the Duke of Alba, an iron soldier, who cherished the arts of peace with a discerning love very rare in his profession and his country. He afterwards turned his thoughts towards the Church,

but not obtaining any preferment, he did not receive the tonsure. About 1548, Don Luis de Avila, Grand Commander of Alcántara, and a soldier, historian, and court favourite of great eminence, engaged him to put into Latin his commentaries on the wars in Germany, holding out hopes of placing him, in return, in the imperial household. Van Male executed his task with much elegance,[1] but Avila failed to fulfil the hopes he had excited, although the modest ambition of his translator did not soar beyond the post of historiographer, and two hundred florins a year. Another and a better friend, however, the Seigneur de Praet, obtained for Van Male, in 1550, the place of *barbero*, or gentleman of the imperial chamber of the second class.

His learning, intelligence, industry, cheerful disposition, and simple nature, made him a great favourite with the Emperor, who soon could scarcely dispense with his attendance by day or night. With a strong natural taste for arts and letters, Charles, often, during his busy life, regretted that his imperfect early education debarred him from many literary pursuits and pleasures. In Van Male he had found a humble instrument, ever ready, able,

[1] Ludov. de Avila, *Commentariorun de Bello Germanico a Caroli Cæsare gesto*, lib. ii., 8vo, Antverpiæ, 1550. It was printed by Steels, who reprinted it the same year; and another edition was published in 12mo, at Strasburg, in 1620.

CH. IV.
1556.

Translates the Emperor's *Memoirs*.

and willing to supply his deficiencies. Sailing up the Rhine in 1550, he beguiled the tedium of the voyage by composing a memoir of his campaigns and travels.[1] The new gentleman of the chamber was employed on his old task of translation; and he accordingly turned the Emperor's French, which he likewise pronounced to be terse, elegant, and eloquent, into Latin, in which he put forth his whole strength, and combined, as he supposed, the styles of Livy, Cæsar, Suetonius, and Tacitus.

Is made to print Acuña's translation of *Le Chevalier Délibéré*.

Another of the Emperor's literary recreations was to make a version, in Castilian prose, of the old and popular French poem, called *Le Chevalier Délibéré*, an allegory, composed some seventy years before, by Oliver de la Marche, in honour of the ducal house of Burgundy. Fernando de Acuña, a soldier-poet, and, at that time, keeper of the captive Elector, George Frederick of Saxony, was then commanded to turn it into rhyme, a task which he performed very happily, working up the Emperor's prose into spirited and richly-idiomatic verse, retouching and refreshing the antiquated flattery of the last century, and stealing, here and there, a chaplet from the old Burgundian monument to hang upon the shrine of Aragon and Castile. The manuscript was finally given to Van Male, in order to be passed through

[1] [See p. 93, and note.]

the press, the Emperor telling him that he might have the profits of the publication for his pains, but forbidding that the book should contain any allusion to his own share in its production. Against this condition Van Male remonstrated, knowing, no doubt, that the name of the imperial translator would sell the book far more speedily and certainly than any possible merit of the translation, and alleging that such a condition was an injustice both to the honourable vocation of letters and to the world at large. The Emperor, however, was inflexible, and the Spanish courtiers wickedly affected the greatest envy at the good fortune of the Fleming. Luis de Avila, with special malice, in his quality of author assured the Emperor that the book would yield a profit of five hundred crowns, upon which Charles, charmed at being generous at no cost at all, remarked, "Well, it is right that William, who has had the greatest part of the sweat, should reap the harvest." Poor Van Male saw no prospect of reaping anything but chaff; he timidly hinted at the risk of the undertaking, and did his best to escape the threatened boon. But hints were thrown away on the Emperor; he was eager to see himself in type; and he accordingly ordered Jean Steels to strike off, at Van Male's expense, two thousand copies of a book which is now scarce, perhaps because the greater part of the impression passed at once from

CH. IV.
1556.

the publisher to the pastrycook.[1] The pecuniary results have not been recorded, but there is little doubt that the Fleming's fears were justified rather than the hopes of the malicious companions, whom he called, in his vexation, "those windy Spaniards."

During the six harassed and sickly years which preceded the Emperor's abdication, Van Male was his constant attendant, and usually slept in an adjoining room, to be ever within call. Many a sleepless night Charles beguiled by hearing the poor scholar read the Vulgate, and illustrate it by citations from Josephus or other writers; and sometimes they sang psalms together, a devotional exercise of which the Emperor was very fond. He had composed certain prayers for his own use, which he now required Van Male to put into Latin, and otherwise correct and arrange. The work was so well executed that Charles several times spoke, in the hearing of some of the other courtiers, of the comfort he had found in praying in Van Male's terse and elegant Latinity instead of his own rambling French. This praise from the master produced the usual envy among the servants; the chaplains, especially, were indignant that a layman should have thus poached upon their peculiar ground and be praised for it,

Puts Emperor's prayers into Latin.

[1] [In a later note, the author has added:] This is hardly fair. The poem is fine, and the translation better than the original.

and they assailed him with all kinds of coarse jests, and saluted him by a Greek name signifying praying-master. They did not, however, undermine his credit; the Emperor treated him with undiminished confidence; he alone was present when the doctors Vesalius and Baersdorp were wrangling over the symptoms and diseases of his master's shattered frame; and, as he watched through the long winter nights by the imperial couch, he was admitted to a nearer view than any other man had ever attained of the history and the workings of that ardent, reserved, and commanding mind. "I was struck dumb," he wrote to his friend, De Praet, after one of these mysterious confidences, "and I even now tremble at the recollection of the things which he told me."

His letters.

The small collection of letters to De Praet[1] contain nearly all that is known of the life of Van Male. These letters were written for the most part in 1550, 1551, and 1552, sometimes by the Emperor's bedside, and often long after midnight, when his tossings had subsided into slumber. Lively and agreeable as letters, they are invaluable for the

[1] *Lettres sur la vie intérieure de l'Empereur Charles Quint*, ecrites par Guillaume Van Male, publiées par le Baron de Beiffenberg, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1843. M. Reiffenberg has fallen into an error in supposing (p. xxiii.) that Van Male retired from the Emperor's service at the time of the abdication.

CH. IV.
1556.

glimpses they afford of the everyday life of Charles. In them we can look at the hero of the sixteenth century with the eyes of his valet. We can see him in his various moods—now well and cheerful, now bilious and peevish; ever suffering from his fatal love of eating (*edacitas damnosa*), yet never able to restrain it; rebelling against the prudent rules of Baersdorp and the great Vesalius, and appealing to one Caballo (*Caballus*, by Van Male called *onagrus magnus*), a Spanish quack, whose dietary was whatever his patient liked to eat and drink: calling for his iced beer before daybreak, and then repenting at the warnings of Van Male and the dysentery; now listening to the book of Esdras, or criticising the wars of the Maccabees, and now laughing heartily at a filthy saying of the Turkish envoy; groaning in his bed, in a complication of pains and disorders; or mounting his favourite genet, matchless in shape and blood, to review his artillery in the vale of the Moselle.

His books.

In spite of his busy life, Van Male found time for his beloved books, and De Praet being also a book-collector, the letters addressed to him are full of notices of borrowings and lendings, buyings and exchangings, of favourite authors, generally the classics. At the memorable flight from Innspruck, when the Emperor in his litter was smuggled by torchlight through the passes into Carinthia, the library of

Loss of his books.

Van Male fell, with the rest of the imperial booty, into the hands of the pikemen of Duke Maurice. "Ah," says he, "with how many tears and lamentations have I wailed the funeral wail of my library!" When the Emperor's great army lay before Metz, sanguine of success and plunder, the afflicted scholar prepared for his revenge, and engaged some Spanish veterans, masters in the art of pillage, to assist him in securing the cream of the literary spoil. "*Non ultra metas*," however, was the new reading which the gallantry of Guise enabled the wits of Metz to offer of the famous "*Plus ultra*" of Austria; and Van Male was balked of the hours of delicious rapine to which he looked forward amongst the cabinets of the curious.

But if he were willing on an occasion to make free with other men's book-shelves, he was also willing that other men should make free with the produce of his own brains. The Emperor having read Paolo Giovio's account of his expedition to Tunis, was desirous that certain errors should be corrected. Van Male was therefore desired to undertake the task, and he commenced it, so new was the art of reviewing, by reading the work four times through. He then drew up, with the assistance of hints from the Emperor, a long letter to the author, in a style soft and courtly as the Bishop's own, which was signed and sent by Luis de Avila, who,

CH. IV.
1556.

having served in the war, was judged more eligible as the ostensible critic.

Under the pressure of duties at the desk and in the dressing-room, the health of Van Male gave way, and he was sometimes little less a valetudinarian than the great man to whom he administered Maccabees, physic, or iced beer. He had seized the opportunity of a short absence on sick-leave to crown a long attachment by marriage; and some time before his master's abdication, he had applied for a place in the treasury of the Netherlands, under his friend, De Praet. The Emperor, on hearing of his entrance into the wedded state, expressed the warmest approbation of the step, and interest in his welfare. "You will hardly believe," wrote the simple-minded good man, "with what approval Cæsar received my communication, and how when we were alone, not once, but several times, he laid me down rules for my future guidance, exhorting me to frugality, parsimony, and other virtues of domestic life." His Majesty, however, gave him nothing but good advice, unwilling, perhaps, to diminish the value of his precepts by lessening the necessity of practising them. Getting no place, therefore, Van Male was forced, with his dear Hippolyta and her babes, to encounter the Bay of Biscay, and the mountain roads of Spain.

Marriage.

The Emperor, indeed, could not do without him.

Peevish with gout, and wearied by the delays at Yuste, and the discontent among his people, he one day scolded him so harshly for being out of the way when he called, that Van Male tendered his resignation, which was accepted. But, ere a week had elapsed, both parties had cooled down; and the Spanish secretary remarked that William had not only been forgiven, but was as much in favour as before. His temper must have been excellent, for he contrived to be a favourite with his master without being the detestation of his Castilian fellow-servants.

Physicians. Dr. Henry Mathys,

The doctor of the court was a young Fleming, named Henry Mathys, or, in the Spanish form, Mathisio. He had not held the appointment long, and there being much sickness at Xarandilla, it was thought advisable to summon to his aid Dr. Giovanni Antonio Mole, from Milan. Another Mathys, Cornelius Henry, or, as he was generally called, Doctor Cornelio, who had long been physician to the Queen of Hungary, was also sent for to Valladolid. They remained, however, only a few weeks in attendance, and Henry Mathys was again left in sole charge of the health of the Emperor and his people. He appears to have discharged his functions creditably; and with the pen, at least, he was indefatigable, for every variation in the imperial symptoms, and every pill and potion with which he endeavoured to neutralise the slow poisons daily

Dr. Giovanni Antonio Mole,

Dr. Cornelio Mathys.

CH. IV.
1556.

served up by the cook, he duly chronicled in Latin despatches, usually addressed to the King, and written with singular dulness and prolixity.

Juanelo Torriano, watch-maker.

Giovanni, or, as he was familiarly called, Juanelo, Torriano, was a native of Cremona, who had attained considerable fame as a mechanician, and in that capacity had been introduced into the Emperor's service many years before, by the celebrated Alonso de Avalos, Marquess del Vasto. A curious old clock, made in 1402, by Zelandin, for Giovanni Galeazzo Visconti, was brought from Paris as a present to Charles at his coronation, in 1530, at Bologna. Being much out of repair, it was put into the hands of Torriano, who so skilfully restored it, or rather made a new clock with the help of its materials, that the Emperor took him with him to Spain.[1] He had now brought him to Estremadura to take care of his clocks and watches, and to construct these and other pieces of mechanism for the amusement of his leisure hours.

Emperor's visitors.

Besides the envoys and other official people whom state affairs called to Xarandilla, there were several ancient servants of the Emperor who came thither to tender the homage of their loyalty. One of these

[1] Falconnet, *Mémoires de l'Academie*, 4to, Paris, 1753, vol. xx. p. 440. He quotes as his authority Bernard. Saccus, *De Italicarum rerum varietate*, 4to, Papiæ, 1565, Lib. vii. c. 17; and he calls Torriano, Joannes Janellus.

Fr. Francisco Borja, S.J.

His history.

deserves especial notice for the place he holds in the history, not only of Spain, but of the religious struggles of the sixteenth century—Francisco Borja, who, a few years before, had exchanged his dukedom of Gandia for the robe of the Order of Jesus. In his brilliant youth this remarkable man had been the star and pride of the nobility of Spain. He was the heir of a great and wealthy house—a branch of the royal line of Aragon—which had already given two pontiffs to Rome, and to history several personages remarkable for the brightness of their virtues and the blackness of their crimes. "The universe," cried a poet, some ages later, in a frenzy of panegyric,[1] "is full of Borja; there are Borjas famous by sea, Borjas great by land, Borjas enthroned in heaven;" and he might have added, with equal truth, that in the lower regions also, the house of Borja was fairly represented. Francisco was distinguished no less by the favour of the Emperor than by the splendour of his birth, the graces of his person, and the endowments of his mind. Born to be a courtier and a soldier, he was also an accomplished scholar and no inconsiderable statesman. He broke horses and trained hawks as well as the most expert master of the manege and the mews; he composed masses

[1] *Epitome de la Eloquencia Española*, par D. Francisco Josef Artiga, 12mo, Huesca, 1692. See dedication to the Duke of Gandia, by Fr. Man. Artiga, the author's son.

CH. IV. 1556.

which long kept their place in the choirs of Spain; he was well versed in polite learning, and deeply read in the mathematics; he wrote Latin and Castilian, as his works still testify, with ease and grace; he served in Africa and Italy with distinction; and as Viceroy of Catalonia, he displayed abilities for administration which in a few years might have placed him high amongst the Mendozas and De Lannoys. The pleasures and honours of the world, however, seemed from the first to have but slender attraction for the man so rarely fitted to obtain them. In the midst of life and its triumphs, his thoughts perpetually turned upon death and its mysteries. Ever punctilious in the performance of his religious duties, he early began to delight in spiritual contemplation and to discipline his mind by self-imposed penance. Even in his favourite sport of falconry he found occasion for self-punishment, by resolutely fixing his eyes on the ground at the moment when he knew that his best hawk was about to stoop upon the heron. These tendencies were confirmed by an accident which followed the death of the Empress Isabella. As her master of the horse, it was Borja's duty to attend the body from Toledo to the chapel-royal of Granada, and to make oath to its identity ere it was laid in the grave. But when the coffin was opened and the cerements drawn aside, the progress of decay was

found to have been so rapid that the mild and lovely face of Isabella could no longer be recognised by the most trusted and the most faithful of her servants. His conscience would not allow him to swear that the mass of corruption thus disclosed was the remains of his royal mistress, but only that, having watched day and night beside it, he felt convinced that it could be no other than the form which he had seen enshrouded at Toledo. From that moment, in the twenty-ninth year of his prosperous life, he resolved to spend what remained to him of time in earnest preparation for eternity. A few years later, the death of his beautiful and excellent wife strengthened his purpose, by snapping the dearest tie which bound him to the world. Having erected a Jesuits' college at Gandia, their first establishment of that kind in Europe, and having married his eldest son and his two daughters, he put his affairs in order, and retired into the young and still struggling society of Ignatius Loyola. In the year 1548, the thirty-eighth of his age, he obtained the Emperor's leave to make his son fifth Duke of Gandia, and he himself became Father Francis of the company of Jesus.

He was admitted to the company, and received ecclesiastical tonsure at Rome, from whence, to escape a cardinal's hat, he soon returned to Spain, and retired to a severe course of theological study, in a hermitage near Loyola, the Mecca of the Jesuits.

CH. IV. 1556.

Plenary indulgence having been conceded by the Pope to all who should hear his first mass, he performed that rite, and preached his first sermon, in the presence of a vast concourse in the open air, at Vergara. As Provincial of Aragon and Andalusia, he afterwards laboured as a preacher and teacher in many of the cities of Spain; he had procured and superintended the foundation of colleges at Alcalá and Seville; and he was now engaged in instituting and organising another at Plasencia.

In the world, Borja had been the favourite and trusted friend of most of his royal cousins of Austria and Avis. When he had joined the Society of Jesus, the Infant Don Luis of Portugal for some time entertained the design of assuming the same robe; and when the Queen Juana lay dying at Tordesillas, it was Father Borja who was sent by the Princess-Regent to administer the last consolations of religion, and who began to acquire a reputation for miraculous powers, because the crazy old woman gave some feeble sign of returning reason, as she came face to face with death. Charles himself seems to have regarded him with affection as strong as his cold nature was capable of feeling. It can have been with no ordinary interest that he watched the career of the man whom alone he had chosen to make the confidant of his intended abdication, and who had unexpectedly forestalled him in the execu-

tion of the scheme. They were now in circumstances similar, yet different. Both had voluntarily descended from the eminence of their hereditary fortunes. Broken in health and spirits, the Emperor was on his way to Yuste, to spend the evening of his days in repose. The Duke, on the other hand, in the full vigour of his age, had entered the humblest of religious orders, to begin a new life of the most strenuous toil. In Spain, many a stout soldier died a monk; his own ancestor, the Infant Don Pedro of Aragon, had closed a life of camps and councils, in telling his beads amongst the Capuchins of Barcelona.[1] But it was reserved for Borja to leave the high road of ambition, in life's bright noon, for a thorny path, in which the severest asceticism was united with the closest official drudgery, and in which there was no rest but the grave.

Borja visits Xarandilla 17th Dec.

Having learned from the Count of Oropesa that the Emperor had been frequently inquiring about him, Father Francis the Sinner, for so Borja called himself, arrived at Xarandilla on the 17th December. He was attended by two brothers of the order, Father Marcos, and Father Bartolomé Bustamente. The latter, an aged priest, who had been secretary to Cardinal Tavera, was known to fame as a scholar and as architect of the noble hospital of

[1] Çurita, *Anales de Aragon*, an. 1358, lib. ix. c. 18.

CH. IV.
1556.

St. John Baptist, at Toledo, a structure on which the Cardinal-Archbishop had so lavished his wealth, that his enemies said it would certainly procure him and Bustamente warm places in purgatory.[1] The Emperor received Borja with a cordiality which was more foreign to his nature than his habits, but which, on this occasion, was probably sincere. Both he and his Jesuit guest had withdrawn from the pomps and vanities of life; but custom being stronger than reason or faith, their greeting was as ceremonious as if it had been exchanged beneath the canopy of estate at Augsburg or Valladolid. Not only did the priest, lapsing into the ways of the grandee, kneel to kiss the hand of the prince, but he even insisted on remaining upon his knees during the interview. Charles, who addressed him as duke, finally compelled him to assume a less humble attitude, only by refusing to converse with him until he should have taken a chair and put on his hat.[2]

[1] Salazar de Mendoça, *Chrónica del Card. Juan de Tavera*, 4to, Toledo, 1603, p. 310.

[2] In this portion of my narrative, I have followed Ribadeneira and Nieremberg (*Vida de F. Borja*, 4to, Madrid, 1592, p. 93; and fol. Madrid, 1644, p. 134), who have, however, fallen into an error, which the MS. of Gonzalez enables me to correct. Both say that Borja first visited the retired Emperor at Yuste, and Nieremberg asserts that he came from Alcalá de Henares; whereas he came from Plasencia, and paid his visit at Xarandilla. Gonzalez disbelieves their account of the Emperor's desire to seduce Borja from the company, and of what passed at the interview, but assigns no reason for his disbelief. The conversation, as reported by Ribadeneira, appears very probable, and his report is so circumstantial, that we may well suppose it to have been drawn up

CH. IV.
1556.
Borja's *Apologia.*

Borja had been warned, by the Princess-Regent, say the Jesuits, that the Emperor intended to urge him to pass from the company to the Order of St. Jerome. He therefore anticipated his design, by asking leave to give an account of his life since he had made religious profession, and of the reasons which had decided his choice of a habit, "of which matters," said he, "I will speak to your Majesty as I would speak to my Maker, who knows that all I am going to say is true." Leave being granted, he told, at great length, how, having resolved to enter a monastic order, he had prayed and caused many masses to be said for God's guidance in making his election; how, at first, he inclined to the rule of St. Francis, but found that whenever his thoughts went in that direction, he was seized with an unaccountable melancholy: how he turned his eyes to the other orders, one after another, and always with the same gloomy result: how, on the contrary, when, last of all, he thought of the company of Jesus, the Lord had filled his soul with peace and joy: how it frequently happened, in the great orders, that monks

either from Borja's own recital, or from notes found amongst his papers. In the letters of Quixada, in the Gonzalez MS., we are told that Borja was admitted to long audiences of the Emperor on the 17th, 21st, and 22nd December, and we may conjecture that he likewise saw him on the 18th, 19th, and 20th, days on which the mayordomo did not happen to be writing to the secretary of state. Quixada throws no light whatever on the subject of their conversations, and therefore no discredit on Ribadeneira's statement.

CH. IV. 1556.

arrived at higher honour in this life than if they had remained in the world, a risk which he desired by all means to avoid, and which hardly existed in a recent and humble fraternity, still in that furnace of trial through which the others had long ago passed: how the company, embracing in its scheme an active as well as a contemplative life, provided for the spiritual welfare of men of the most opposite characters, and of each man in the various stages of his intellectual being; and lastly, how he had submitted these reasons to several grave and holy fathers of the other orders, and had received their approval and their blessing, ere he took the vows which had now for ten years been the hope and the consolation of his life.

Emperor's opinion.

The Emperor listened to this long narrative with attention, and expressed his satisfaction at hearing his friend's history from his own lips. "For," said he, "I felt great surprise when I received at Augsburg your letters from Rome, notifying the choice which you had made of a religious brotherhood. And I still think that a man of your weight ought to have entered an order which had been approved by age, rather than this new society, in which no white hairs are found, and which besides, in some quarters, bears but an indifferent reputation." To this Borja replied, that in all institutions, even in Christianity itself, the purest piety and the noblest

zeal were to be looked for near the source; that had he known of any evil in the company, he would never have joined, or would already have left it; and that in respect of white hairs, though it was hard to expect that the children should be old while the parent was still young, even these were not wanting, as might be seen in his companion, the Father Bustamente. That ecclesiastic, who had begun his novitiate at the ripe age of sixty, was accordingly called into the presence. The Emperor at once recognised him as a priest who had been sent to his court at Naples, soon after the campaign of Tunis, charged with an important mission by Cardinal Tavera, primate and governor of Spain.

Fr. Bustamento.

Three hours of discourse with these able, earnest, and practised champions of Jesuitism had some effect even upon a mind so slow to be convinced as that of Charles. He hated innovation with the hatred of a king, a devotee, and an old man; and having fought for forty years a losing battle with the terrible monk of Saxony, he looked with suspicion even upon the great orthodox movement led by the soldier of Guipuzcoa. The infant company, although, or perhaps because, in favour at the Vatican, had gained no footing at the imperial court; and as its fame grew, the prelates around the throne, sons or friends of the ancient orders, were more likely to remind their master how its general

Discussion of the Jesuits.

CH. IV. 1556.

had once been admonished by the Holy Office of Toledo, than to dwell on his piety and eloquence, or the splendid success of his missions in the east. In Bobadilla, one of the first followers of Loyola, the Emperor had seen something of the fiery zeal of the new society; he had admired him on the field of Muhlberg, severely wounded, yet persisting in carrying temporal and spiritual aid to the wounded and dying; but on the publication of the unfortunate Interim, meant to soothe, but active only to inflame the hate of Catholics and reformers, he had been compelled to banish this same good Samaritan from the empire for his virulent attacks upon the new decree.[1] This unexpected opposition strengthened Charles's natural dislike to the company; and he afterwards rewarded with a colonial mitre the blustering Dominican Cano, who announced from the pulpits of Castile the strange tidings that the Jesuits were the precursors of Antichrist foretold in the Apocalypse. His new confessor, Fray Juan de Regla, with monkish subserviency and rancour, espoused the same cause, and openly spoke of the company as an apt instrument of Satan or the Great Turk.[2] Latterly, however, the vehement old Pope, having frowned on the

[1] Nieremberg, *Vidas de Ig. Loyola y otros hijos de la Compania*, fol. Madrid, 1645, pp. 649-50.
[2] Nieremberg, *Vida de F. Borja*, p. 173.

order as a thing of Spain and perdition, may perhaps have prepared his imperial rival to view it with a more favourable eye. His prejudices, in fact, at last yielded to the earnest and temperate reasonings of his ancient servant and brother in arms; and his feelings towards the Jesuits leaned from that time to approval and friendly regard.

Emperor's reconciliation.

The talk of the Emperor and his guest sometimes reverted to old days. "Do you remember," said Charles, "how I told you, in 1542, at Monçon, during the holding of the Cortes of Aragon, of my intention of abdicating the throne? I spoke of it to but one person besides." The Jesuit replied that he had kept the secret truly, but that now he hoped he might mention the mark of confidence with which he had been honoured. "Yes," said Charles; "now that the thing is done, you may say what you will."

Audiences with Borja private.

After a visit of five days at Xarandilla, Borja took his leave, and returned to Plasencia. The Emperor appears usually to have given him audience alone, for no part of their conversations was reported either by the secretary or by the mayordomo. Nor is any notice taken of Borja in their correspondence, beyond the bare mention of his arrival and departure, and of the Emperor's remark, that "the Duke was much changed since he first knew him as Marquess of Lombay."

Of the Emperor's few intimate friends, it happened

CH. IV.

1556.

Don Luis de Avila.

that one other, Don Luis de Avila y Zuñiga, was now his neighbour in Estremadura. This shrewd politician, lively writer, and crafty courtier, a very different personage from Father Francis the Sinner, was no less welcome at Xarandilla. He was one of the most distinguished of that remarkable band of soldier-statesmen who shed a lustre round the throne of the Spanish Emperor and maintained the honour of the Spanish name for the greater part of the sixteenth century. At the Holy See, under Pius IV. and Paul IV., he had twice represented his master, and had attempted to urge on the lagging deliberations of the Council of Trent; he had served with credit at Tunis; and he commanded the imperial cavalry during the campaigns of 1546 and 1547 in Germany, and at the siege of Metz. These services obtained for him the post of chamberlain, and the Emperor's full confidence; and he was also made Grand Commander, or chief member after the sovereign, of the Order of Alcántara. With these honours, and six skulls of the virgins of Cologne, presented to him by the grateful Elector, he returned to Plasencia, to share the honours with the wealthy heiress of Fadrique de Zuñiga, Marquess of Mirabel, and to place the skulls in the rich Zuñiga chapel in the church of San Vicente.[1] It is as a man of

[1] A. F. Fernandez, *Historia de Plasencia*, fol., Madrid, 1627, p. 113.

JUANELO TORRIANO.

letters that the Grand Commander of Alcántara, prosperous soldier and courtier though he was, holds a place amongst the historical personages of his age. He had been correspondent of Bernardo Tasso, and was one of the friends who, at Ghent, urged him to write a poem on the story of Amadis of Gaul, and persuaded him to employ for the purpose the *ottava rima* of Ariosto instead of the *versi sciolti* which he himself proposed to use.[1] He was now living in laurelled and lettered ease in the fine palace of the Mirabels, which is still one of the chief architectural ornaments of King Alonso's pleasant city.

Avila's literary tastes and acquirements had been acknowledged fifteen years before by the learned Florian de Ocampo, who had selected him from the herd of Castilian nobles, to honour him with the dedication of the first four parts of his edition of the Chronicle of Spain.[2] This compliment was afterwards justified by the publication of Avila's own commentaries on the war of the Emperor with the Protestants of Germany, a work by which he earned

His *Commentaries on the War in Germany.*

[1] *Le Lettere di M. Bernardo Tasso . . . con la vita dell'Autore*, scritta del Sig. Anton. Federigo Seghazzi, 2 vols. 8vo, Padova, 1733, i. xvii., and 168 and 198. Letter 99 of vol. i., pp. 199-202, is addressed to D. Luis, in which B. Tasso defends his own view of the superiority of the heroic measure over the eight-lined stanza. *L'Amadigi* was printed at Venice in 1560, 4to, by G. Gioleto, and in 1583, 4to, by Fabio and Ag. Zoppieri.

[2] *Los quatro partes enteras de la crónica de España, que mando componer el Ser. Rey Don Alonso llamado el Sabio*, fol., Zamora, 1541. See Southey's *Chronicle of the Cid*, 4to, London, 1808, p. v.

CH. IV. 1556.

a high rank amongst the historians of his time. His Castilian was pure and idiomatic; and his style, for clearness and rapidity, was compared by his admirers to that of Cæsar. The "Deeds of the Emperor, composed by Don Luis de Avila," figure amongst the books burnt by the priest and barber in Don Quixote's back-yard; "but perhaps," adds Cervantes, "had the priest seen them they might not have received so horrible a sentence;" and one commentator at least considers that some other book must have been in the author's mind, when he consigned them to the flames.[1] Besides these literary merits, the book, from the intimate relation existing between the author and the chief actor in the story, was invested with something of an official authority. It was accepted as a record, not merely of what the green-cross knight had seen, but of what the Catholic Emperor wished to be believed. At this time, therefore, it had already passed through several editions,[2] and had been translated into Latin,[3] Flemish,[4] and English,[5]

[1] *Don Quixote*, Part I., chap. vii. Pellicer thinks the book meant was the *Carlo Famoso* of Don Luis Çapata, and gives plausible reasons in a long note. See also infra, p. 382, and note.

[2] It appeared, says Nic. Antonio, first in Spain (without mentioning any town) in 1546, and again in 1547.

[3] By Van Male. See supra, p. 107.

[4] In 8vo (Steels), Antwerp, 1550.

[5] *The Commentaries of Don Lewes de Avila and Suniga, great Master of Acanter, which treateth of the great wars in Germanie, made by Charles the Fifth, maxime Emperoure of Rome*, &c. Sm. 8vo, London, 1555 (black letter). The translator was John Wilkinson.

into Italian[1] by the author himself, and twice into French, at Antwerp[2] and at Paris.[3] In Germany it had created a great sensation; the Duke of Bavaria and the Count-Palatine were enraged beyond measure at the free handling displayed in their portraits by this Spanish master; the Diet of Passau presented a formal remonstrance to the Emperor against the libels of his chamberlain; and Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, who, by changing sides during the war, had peculiarly exposed himself to castigation, proposed that the author should maintain the credit of his pen by the prowess of his sword.[4] The Emperor, however, who approved

[1] In 12mo, Venice, 1549.

[2] By Mat. Vaulchier, 8vo, 1550.

[3] *Commentaire du Seigneur D. Loys d'Avila et de Çuniga, contenant la guerre d'Allemagne, faicte par l'Empereur Charles V. . . . années* 1547 *et* 1548, mis d'Espaignol en françois par G. Boilleau de Buillon, Commissaire et contrerolleur de Cambray, Paris, 1550. *Catalogue Potier*, Paris, 1864, iii. partie; *Histoire*, No. 4741, pp. 179–80.

[4] R. Ascham, *Discourse of Germany and the Emperor Charles his Court.* 4to, London (black letter), N. D. fol. 14. In a letter to the Emperor, which was printed, Albert of Brandenburg complained that "he himself and other princes which in the former war against the Protestants, for his (the Emperor's) preservation and dignity, put in great hazard their lives and goods, have received a goodly recompense in that book which Luis de Avila set forth of matters done in the same war, a naughty and lying fellow, whilst he speaketh of all Germany so coldly, so disdainfully and strangely, as though it were some barbarous or vile nation whose original were scarcely known." *Chronicle of Our Time, called Sleidan's Commentaries*, translated out of Latin into English by Jhon Daus, fo., London, 1560, fo. cccxciii. [Les Oevres de Jean Sleidan, 2 tomes 8vo, MDXCVII. (Imp. de Jacob Stœr) *XXVI Livres de l'Estat de la Religion et Republique tant en Alemagne qu'en plusiers autres pays sous l'Empereur Charles V.*, livre 24me, tom. i. p. 420.]

CH. IV. 1556.

the history and loved the historian, interposed to soothe the Electors, cajole the Diet, and forbid the duel; and a Duke of Brunswick, some years after, did the obnoxious volume the honour of translating it into German. Pleased with his success, the author was probably employing his leisure at Plasencia in composing those commentaries on the war in Africa which, though perused and praised by Sepulveda, have not yet been given to the press.

Visits Xarandilla 21st Jan. 1557.

His first visit to the Emperor was paid on the 21st January 1557. He spent the night at Xarandilla, and returned home next day. Some weeks before, on the 6th December, his father-in-law, the Marquess of Mirabel, had likewise been graciously received.

Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Plasencia.

Early in January, the Archbishop of Toledo and the Bishop of Plasencia sent excuses for not paying their respects, both prelates pleading the infirm state of their health. The Primate was the Cardinal Juan Martinez Siliceo, to whom, eleven years before, the Emperor had given that splendid mitre, not quite in accordance, it was said, with his own wish, but at the request of his son Philip, whose tutor the fortunate cardinal had been. The Bishop of Plasencia was Don Gutierre de Carvajal, a magnificent prelate, who shared the Emperor's tastes and gout. He was the builder of the fine Gothic chapel attached to the church of St. Andrew at Madrid; and his coat of arms, *or*, with

bend *sable*, commemorated on wall or portal his various architectural embellishments in all parts of his diocese.[1] Charles received the excuses of both prelates with perfect good-humour, entreating them not to put themselves to any inconvenience on his account, and remarking to Quixada, that neither of them were persons much to his liking.

Empe health.

Until the close of the year 1556, the Emperor had enjoyed what was for him remarkably good health and spirits. In the latter weeks of the year he had been able to devote two hours a day to his accounts, and to reckoning with Luis Quixada the sums due to the servants whom he was about to discharge. When the weather was fine, he used to go out with his fowling-piece, and even walked at a tolerably brisk pace. His chief annoyance was the state of his fingers, which were so much swollen and disabled by gout, that he remarked, on receiving from the Duchess of Frias a present of a chased silver saucepan and a packet of perfumed gloves, "If she sends gloves, she had better also send hands to wear them on." But on the 27th and 28th December, he felt several twinges of gout in his knees and shoulders, and kept his bed for a week, lying in considerable pain, and wrapped in one of

Attack of gout.

[1] P. de Salazar, *Chrónica de el Card. D. Juan de Tavera*, 4to, Toledo, 1603, p. 355. A. Fernandez, *Historia de Plasencia*, p. 191.

CH. IV.
1556.

his eider-down robes, beneath a thick quilted covering. For some days he was entirely deprived of the use of his right arm, and could neither raise a cup to his lips, nor wipe his mouth. Nevertheless his

Appetite.

appetite continued keen; and he one day paid the wife of Quixada the compliment of committing an excess upon sausages and olives, which the good lady had sent to him from Villagarcia. As the attack subsided, he complained of a sore throat, which made it difficult for him to swallow, an inconvenience which the mayordomo did not much deplore, saying sententiously, "Shut your mouth, and the gout will get well." [1]

Refreshments.

Barley-water, with yolks of eggs, formed his frequent refreshment in his illness, and his medicine was given in the shape of pills and senna wine.

Senna wine.

This beverage was one which he had long used, and about the concoction of which very precise directions had been transmitted in the autumn, from Flanders, to the secretary of state. A quantity of the "best senna-leaves of Alexandria" were to be steeped, in a proportion of about a pound to a gallon, in a jar of good light wine, for three or four months; the liquor was then to be poured off into a fresh jar; and after standing for a year it was fit for use. The white wine of Yepes was mentioned

[1] "La gota se cura tapando la boca."

as the best for the purpose; but the selection was left to the general of the Jeronymites, an order famous for its choice cellars. The Emperor asked likewise for manna, and there being none amongst the doctor's stores, he ordered some to be procured from Naples, observing, at the same time, that no supply had been sent since his abdication—the single trivial incident and remark which lend support to the common story that the change in his position had made a change in the attention with which he was treated.

Neapolitan manna.

Loving good cheer himself, Charles knew that to provide good cheer was to take a straight and easy way to the good-will of other men, and especially of churchmen. At Christmas, therefore, he selected from his well-stored larder an ample and various supply of game as a present to the Jeronymites of Yuste. That festival happening to fall upon a Friday, he took the precaution of first asking the prior whether it was to be observed as a feast or a fast. Learning that the rule respecting meagre-days admitted of no relaxation, he considerately withheld until Saturday the dainties for Sunday's feast.[1]

His Christmas present of game to the convent.

On the 6th January, though still in bed, the Emperor was able to see Lorenzo Pires, the Portu-

Lorenzo Pires.

[1] M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite de Charles Quint; Analyse d'un manuscrit Espagnol contemporain, par un religieux de l'ordre de Saint-Jérôme à Yuste*, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1850, p. 24.

CH. IV.
1557.

guese envoy, on the affairs of the Infanta; when he also expressed his hearty approval of King John's choice of the good Aleixo de Meneses as governor of their grandson, Don Sebastian.[1] On the 7th he got up, complaining only at intervals of a heat in his legs, which were relieved by being bathed with vinegar and water. In spite of his omelettes of sardines, and the beer which no medical warnings could induce him to forego, he was soon restored to his usual health.

News from Italy.

Despatches now came in from Italy, announcing the truce of forty days, which the Duke of Alba had made with the Pope and his nephew, after driving the Papal troops out of the town and citadel of Ostia. The Emperor was very angry that he had not pushed on to Rome, and would not listen to the conditions of the truce, but kept muttering between his teeth his fears of the approach of the French from Piedmont. He afterwards wrote to the King, expressing the greatest displeasure at the conduct of Alba, who, he feared, had suffered himself to be bribed by the concession of certain patronage enjoyed by the Pope in the Duke's marquessate of Coria. The conditions of the truce despatched to Flanders by Alba, were not ratified by the King, and the war recommenced early in 1557.

Emperor's disgust.

[1] Menezes, *Chrónica*, p. 68.

His anxiety for safety of Oran.

Some days later, on the 31st January, the Emperor addressed a very earnest and anxious letter to the Princess-Regent on the alarming aspect of affairs both in Flanders and the Mediterranean, urging her to use all diligence in raising men and money to carry on the wars, and especially to provide for the defence of Oran, which was then threatened by the Moors. "If Oran be lost," he wrote, "I hope I shall not be in Spain or the Indies, but in some place where I shall not hear of so great an affront to the King, and disaster to these realms." On the 2nd February, he again entreated the Princess to keep a watchful eye on the frontiers of Navarre, and remarked that it was a pity the King should have ordered the Duke of Alburquerque to England at a time when the probable movements of the French forces rendered his presence of so much importance in that viceroyalty. In consequence of this remonstrance, the Duke was suffered to remain at Pamplona, to foil any attempts at violent resumption of the kingdom by the court of Pau.

Works at Yuste.

Meanwhile, the long-delayed buildings at Yuste had almost arrived at a conclusion. Their slow progress had caused the Emperor repeated disappointments. So far back as the 16th December he was so confident of being able to quit Xarandilla that the post was detained beyond the usual time, that the removal to the convent might be

CH. IV.
1557.

at his right hand, and Quixada at his left. At the threshold he was met by the whole brotherhood in procession, chanting the Te Deum to the music of the organ. The altars and the aisle were brilliantly lighted up with tapers, and decked with their richest frontals, hangings, and plate. Borne through the pomp to the steps of the high altar, Charles knelt down and returned thanks to God for the happy termination of his journey, and joined in the vesper service of the feast of St. Blas. This ended, the prior stepped forward with a congratulatory speech, in which, to the scandal of the courtiers, he addressed the Emperor as "your paternity," until some friar, with more presence of mind and etiquette, whispered that the proper style was "majesty." The orator next presented his Jeronymites to their new brother, each kissing his hand and receiving his fraternal embrace. Some of the friars bestowed on his gouty fingers so cordial a squeeze, that the pain compelled him to withdraw his hand, and say, "Pray don't, father; it hurts me."[1] During this ceremony the retiring retainers, who had all of them attended their master to his journey's close, stood round, expressing their sorrow by tears and lamentations. As their master entered the church, one of the Flemish women in the crowd

Blunder of the prior.

Grief of the dismissed servants.

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Retraite de Charles V.*, p. 25.

shrieked and swooned away. The forty halberdiers, who had marched beside his litter from Valladolid, flung their pikes on the ground, as if to denote that their occupation was gone. Sounds of mourning were heard, until late in the evening, round the gate. Meanwhile the Emperor, attended by Oropesa and conducted by the prior, made an inspection of the convent, and finally retired to sup in his new home, and enjoy the repose which had so long been the dream of his life.

CHAPTER V.

THE MONASTERY OF ST. JEROME OF YUSTE.

Order of St. Jerome.

THE Spanish Order of St. Jerome was an offshoot from the great Italian Order of St. Francis of Assisi. St. Bridget, a princess of Sweden, who, anticipating Queen Christina by three centuries, had taken up her abode at Rome, foretold that there would soon arise in Spain a society of recluses to tread in the footsteps of the great doctor of Bethlehem. The very next year, in 1374, two hermits who had been living a Franciscan life in the mountains of Toledo, presented themselves at Avignon, and kneeling at the feet of Gregory XI., obtained the institution of the Order of St. Jerome. The first monastery, San Bartolomè of Lupiana, was built by the hands of the

CH. V. 1557.

first prior and his monks, on the north side of a bleak hill near Guadalaxara, in Old Castile. From this highland nest the new religion spread its austere swarms far and wide over Spain. Its houses, humble indeed at first, arose in the Vega of Toledo, and in the pine-forest of Guisando; a devout Duke of Gandia planted another in the better land of Valencia; and in pastoral Estremadura, ere the fourteenth century closed, the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe—which rivalled Loretto itself in miracles, in pilgrims, and in wealth—was committed to the keeping of a colony from Lupiana. Each year the new habit—a white woollen tunic, girt with leather, and a brown woollen scapulary and mantle, of which the fashion and material had been revealed to St. Bridget and consecrated by the use of St. Jerome and of the blessed Mary herself—became more familiar and more favoured in city and hamlet, among the motley liveries of the Church. At Madrid and Segovia, at Seville and Valladolid, stately cloisters and noble churches, in the beautiful pointed architecture of the fifteenth century, were built for St. Jerome and his flock. A Jeronymite monastery was one of the first works undertaken at Granada by the Catholic conquerors, and a Jeronymite friar was enthroned as the first archbishop in the purified mosque. The completion of the superb cloister of Sta. Engracia, begun by Ferdinand for the Jeronymites

YUSTE AND QUACOS.

of Zaragoza, was the first architectural work of Charles V. on taking possession of his Spanish kingdoms. On the Tagus, the Jeronymite convent of Belem, the burial-place of the royal line of Avis, and a miracle of jewellery in stone, is one of the few surviving glories of Don Emanuel. The town-like vastness of Guadalupe, its fortifications, treasure-tower, and cellars, its orange gardens, and cedar groves, and its princely domains, astonished a far-travelled and somewhat cynical magnifico of Venice[1] into a tribute of hearty admiration. In Spain its wealth and importance has passed into a proverb, which thus pointed out the path of preferment,

> "He who is a count, and to be a duke aspires,
> Let him straight to Guadalupe, and sing among the friars."[2]

The order reached the climax of its greatness when its monks were installed by Philip II. in the palace-convent of San Lorenzo of the Escorial.

The Escorial and Guadalupe, his houses, lands, and flocks, were the best endowments of the Jeronymite. He could rarely boast of such eloquence and learning as sometimes lay beneath the white robe of the Dominican preacher, or the inky cloak of the bookish Benedictine. In his schools, he was taught

[1] Navagiero, *Viaggio fatto in Spagna*, sm. 8vo, Vinegia, 1563, pp. 11–12.

[2] "Quien es conde, y dessea ser duque,
Metase fraile en Guadalupe."
—Hern. Nunez: *Refranes*, fol. Salamanca, 1555, fol. 106.

CH. V.
1557.

no philosophy but that of Thomas Aquinas; and even if he did not wholly lack Latin, he was altogether guiltless of that Cicero-worship for which St. Jerome, in his memorable dream, was flogged by seraphim before the judgment-seat of heaven. But to none of his rivals, white, black, or grey, did he yield in the rigour of his religious observance, in the splendour of his services, in the munificence of his alms, and in the abundant hospitality of his table. In his convents, eight hours always, and on days of festival, twelve hours out of the twenty-four, were devoted to sacred offices; and the prior of the Escorial challenged comparison between the ordinary service of his church and the holyday pomp of the greatest cathedrals of Spain. In houses like Guadalupe, large hospitals were maintained for the sick, vast quantities of food were daily dispensed to the poor, and the refectory-boards were spread, sometimes as often as seven times a day, for the guests of all ranks who came in crowds to dine with St. Jerome.

Yuste: its site,

The order early planted its standard in the Vera of Plasencia; choosing for its camp one of the sweetest spots of the sweet valley. Yuste stands on its northern side, and near its eastern end, about two leagues west of Xarandilla, and seven leagues east of Plasencia. The site is a piece of somewhat level ground, on the lower slope of the mountain,

which is clothed, as far as the eye can reach, with woods of venerable oak and chestnut. About an English mile to the south, and lower down the hill, the village of Quacos nestles unseen amongst its orchards and mulberry gardens. The monastery owes its name, not to a saint, but to a streamlet[1] which descends from the sierra behind its walls, and its origin to the piety of one Sancho Martin of Quacos, who granted, in 1402, a tract of forest land to two hermits from Plasencia. Here these holy men built their cells and a chapel dedicated to St. Christopher, and planted an orchard; and obtained, in 1408, by the favour of the Infant Don Fernando, a bull, authorising them to found a religious house of the Order of St. Jerome. In spite, however, of this authority, while their works were still in progress, the friars of a neighbouring convent, armed with an order from the Bishop of Plasencia, set upon them, and dispossessed them of their land and unfinished walls, an act of violence against which the Jeronymites appealed to the Archbishop of Santiago. The judgment of the Primate being given in their favour, they next applied for aid to their neighbour, Garci Alvarez de Toledo, lord of Oropesa,

its name,

foundation in 1408,

and early history.

[1] Siguença, *Hist. de S. Gerónimo*, parte ii. p. 191. Some Spanish writers, and almost all foreign writers, have called it San Yuste, or St. Just, or St. Justus, as if the place had been called after one of the three saints of that name, of Alcalá, Lyons, or Canterbury.

CH. V.
1557.

who accordingly came forth from his castle of Xarandilla, with his *azure* and *argent* banner, and drove out the intruders. Nor was it only with the strong hand that this noble protected the new community; for at the chapter of St. Jerome, held at Guadalupe in 1415, their house would not have been received into the order, but for his generosity in guaranteeing a revenue sufficient for the maintenance of a prior and twelve brethren, under a rule in which mendicancy was forbidden. The buildings were also erected mainly at his cost, and his subsequent benefactions were munificent and many. He was therefore constituted, by the grateful monks, protector of the convent, and the distinction became hereditary in his descendants, the counts of Oropesa. For the first few years of its existence, the convent of Yuste was a dependency of the older house of Guisando, and was governed by its prior. By authority of the chapter of the order, held at Guadalupe in 1415, it was constituted a separate establishment, under the name of St. Jerome of Yuste, and became the seventeenth religious house of the fraternity in Spain.[1]

Progress of Yuste.

These early struggles past, the Jeronymites of Yuste grew and prospered. Gifts and bequests were the chief events in their peaceful annals. They

[1] Fr. G. de Talavera, *Historia de N^ra. Señora de Guadalupe*, 4to, Toledo, 1597, which contains a catalogue of the Spanish houses, p. 387.

became patrons of chapelries and hermitages; they made them orchards and olive groves; and their corn and wine increased. The hostel, dispensary, and other offices of their convent, were patterns of monastic comfort and order; and in due time they built a new church, a simple, solid, and spacious structure, in the pointed style. A few years before the Emperor came to dwell amongst them, they had added to their small antique cloister a new quadrangle of stately proportions, and of the elegant classical architecture which Berruguete had recently introduced into Castile.

Its remarkable monks.

Although more remarkable for the natural beauty which smiled around its walls, than for any growth of spiritual grace within them, Yuste did not fail to boast of its worthies. Early in the sixteenth century one of its sons, Fray Pedro de Bejar, was chosen general of the order, and was remarkable for the vigour of his administration and the boldness and efficacy of his reforms. The prior, Gerónimo de Plasencia, a scion of the great house of Zuñiga, was cited as a model of austere and active holiness. The lay-brother, Melchor de Yepes, after twice deserting the convent to become a soldier, being crippled in felling a huge chestnut tree in the forest, became for the remainder of his days a pattern of bedridden patience and piety. Fray Juan de Xeres, an old soldier of the great captain, was distinguished

Fray Pedro de Bejar.

Gerónimo de Plasencia.

Melchor de Yepes.

Fray Juan de Xeres.

CH. V.

1557.

Fray Rodrigo de Caçeres.

by the gift of second-sight, and was nursed upon his deathbed by the eleven thousand virgins. Still more favoured was Fray Rodrigo de Caçeres; for the blessed Mary herself, in answer to his repeated prayers, came down in visible beauty and glory, and received his spirit on the eve of the feast of her Assumption. The pulpit popularity of the prior, Diego de San Gerónimo, a son of the old Castilian line of Tovar, was long remembered in the Vera, in the names of a road leading to Garganta la Olla, and of a bridge near Xaraiz, constructed, when he grew old and infirm, by the people of these places, to smooth the path of their favourite preacher to their village pulpits.[1]

Diego de San Gerónimo.

Fray Alonso Mudarra.

Fray Hernando de Corral.

The fraternity now numbered amongst its members a certain Fray Alonso Mudarra, who had been in the world a man of rank, and employed in the civil service of the Emperor. Fray Hernando de Corral was the man of letters of the band; and it was perhaps partly on account of this strange taste, that those who did not think him a saint considered him a fool. The tallest and brawniest of the brotherhood, his great strength was equalled by his love of using it; and whenever there was any hard or rough work to be done, he took it as an affront if he was not called to do it. Amongst his other

[1] A. Fernandez, *Hist. de Plasencia*, p. 196.

eccentricities, were noted his not returning to bed after early matins, but roaming through the cloisters, praying aloud, and telling his beads; his buying, begging, and reading every book that came in his way; and the want of due regard for the refectory cheer, which he sometimes evinced by dividing amongst beggars at the gate the entire contents of the conventual larder. He was also particularly fond of the choral service, and careful in compelling the attendance of his brethren; and, observing that the vicar chose frequently to absent himself from this duty, he one day left his stall, and returned with the truant, like the lost sheep in the parable, struggling in his stalwart arms. The greater part of his leisure being spent in reading, he was consulted by the whole convent as an oracle of knowledge; and he likewise was supposed to be frequently visited in his cell by the spirits of the departed. He wrote much, it is said, but on what subjects, or with what degree of merit, no evidence remains. The black-letter folios in the library of the convent were frequently enriched with his notes, and of these a few have survived the neglect of three centuries, and the violence of three revolutions.[1]

[1] In the fine and curious Spanish library of Mr. Ford, there was a copy of the *Chrónica del Rey D. Alonzo el Onçeno*, fol., Valladolid, 1551, which has the following entry on the back of the last leaf: *En veinte y*

CH. V.
1557.

Fray Antonio de Villacastin.

Such were the friars of Yuste whose names have survived in the records of the order; but there was one among them who likewise belongs to the nobler history of art. Fray Antonio de Villacastin was born, about 1512, of humble parents, in the small town of Castile, whence, according to Jeronymite usage, he borrowed his name. Early left an orphan, he was brought up, or rather suffered to grow up, in the house of an uncle, without prospect of future provision, and without any preparation for gaining his bread, except a slight knowledge of reading and writing. When about seventeen years old, being sent one day with a jug and a real to fetch some wine, the necessity of seeking his fortune struck him so forcibly as he walked along, that by the time his errand was done, his mind was made up. Meeting his sister in the street, he handed her the jug and the copper change, and taking the road at once, begged his way to Toledo, where he slept for the first night under the market tables in the square of Zocodover. He was found there next morning by a master tiler, who, pitying his forlorn condition, took him home, and taught him his trade of making wainscots and pavements of coloured tiles, at which

dos de Mayo del año de m.d.lii. (?) *compre yo frai Hernando de Corral este libro en trugillo costome xx reales.* He then goes on to state the dates of the Emperor's arrival at the convent and death, and of the deaths of Queen Eleanor of France and Queen Mary of Hungary.

he wrought for ten years for his food and clothing. At the end of this long apprenticeship, becoming enamoured of the monastic state, he begged a real —the only one he ever possessed—from his master's son, and entered the Jeronymite convent at La Sisla, without the walls of Toledo. In assuming the cowl, however, he by no means laid aside the trowel, which was ever in his hand when the house stood in need of repair. Being a master of the practical part of building, he was also frequently employed in other monasteries of the order. In the Toledan nunnery of San Pablo, the operations were so extensive that he was at work there for several years; and his biographer mentions, in his praise, that when his duties ended he maintained no connection with the nuns, "nor ever received any billets from them, a snare from which a friar so placed seldom escapes."[1] His architectural reputation, after fifteen or sixteen years' practice in the cloister, stood so high, that the general Ortega selected him, in 1554, as master of the works at Yuste, which he had now completed to the entire satisfaction of the Emperor. In these secular occupations he strengthened and improved the secular virtues of good temper and good sense, and yet maintained a high character for zeal and punctuality in the religious business of his cloth;

[1] Siguença, *Hist. de la orden de S. Gerón*, parte iii. p. 893.

CH. V.
1557.

unconscious that he was training himself for one of the most important posts ever filled in the world of art by a Spanish monk—that of master and surveyor of the works at the palace-monastery of the Escorial.

Fray Juan de Ortega.

Fray Juan de Ortega, late general of the order,[1] continued to reside with the fraternity of Yuste, although he still remained a member of his own convent at Alba de Tormes. In intelligence and manners he was greatly above the vulgar herd of friars, and was much esteemed and trusted by the Emperor, and even by his monk-hating household.

Charities of Yuste.

In works of charity, that redeeming virtue of the monastic system, the fathers of Yuste were diligent and bounteous. Of wheat, six hundred fanegas, or about one hundred and twenty quarters, in ordinary years, and in years of scarcity sometimes as much as fifteen hundred fanegas, or three hundred quarters, were distributed at the convent-gate; large donations of bread, meat, oil, and a little money, were given, publicly or in private, by the prior, at Easter, Christmas, and other festivals; and the sick poor in the village of Quacos were freely supplied with food, medicine, and advice.

The Palacio of Yuste.

The Emperor's house, or palace, as the friars loved to call it, although many a country notary is now more splendidly lodged, was more deserving of the

[1] Supra, chap. iii. pp. 88-9.

approbation accorded to it by the monarch, than of the abuse lavished upon it by his chamberlain. Backed by the massive south wall of the church, the building presented a simple front of two storeys to the garden and the noontide sun. Each storey contained four chambers, two on either side of the corridor, which traversed the structure from east to west, and led at either end into a broad porch, or covered gallery, supported by pillars and open to the air. Each room was furnished with an ample fire-place, in accordance with the Flemish wants and ways of the chilly invalid. The chambers looking upon the garden were bright and pleasant, but those on the north side were gloomy, and even dark, the light being admitted to them only by windows opening on the corridor, or on the external and deeply shadowed porches. Charles inhabited the upper rooms, and slept in that at the north-east corner, from which a door, or window, had been cut in a slanting direction into the church, through the chancel wall, and close to the high altar. The shape of this opening appears to have been altered after the strictures passed on it by Quixada, for it now affords a good view of the space where the high altar once stood. The Emperor's cabinet, in which he transacted business, was on the opposite side of the corridor, and looked upon the garden. From its window, his eye ranged over a cluster of rounded

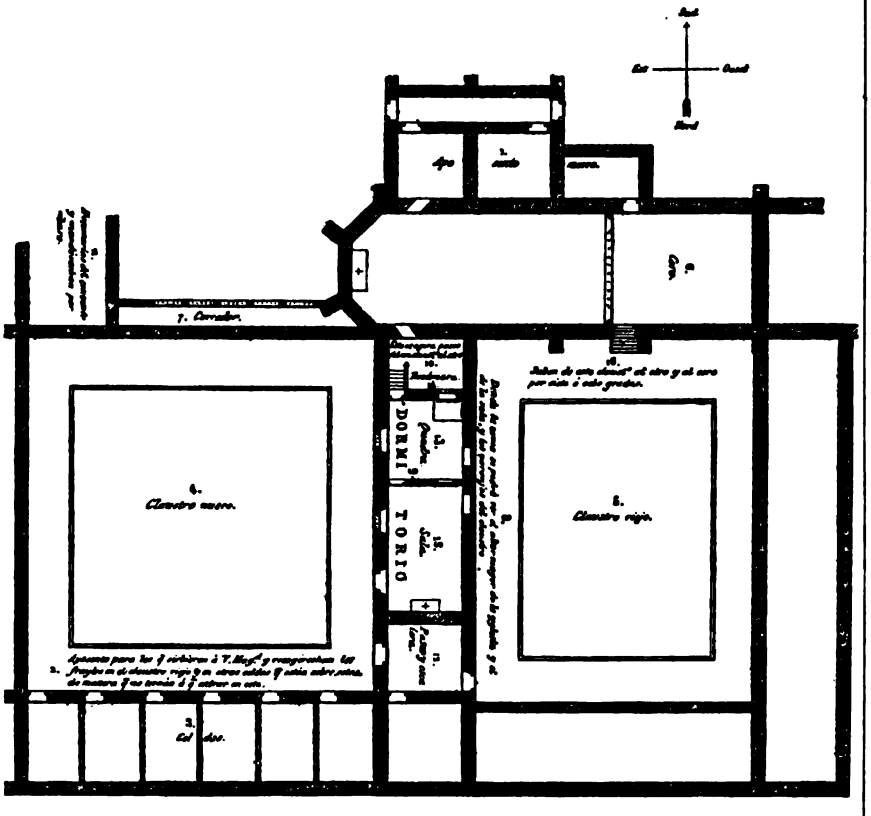
Emperor's rooms.

Prospect from his chambers.

CH. V.
1557.

knolls, clad in walnut and chestnut, in which the mountain died gently away into the broad bosom of the Vera. Not a building was in sight, except a summer-house peering above the mulberry tops at the lower end of the garden, and a hermitage of Our Lady of Solitude, about a mile distant, hung upon a rocky height, which rose like an isle out of the sea of forest. Immediately below the windows the garden sloped gently to the Vera, shaded here and there with the massive foliage of the fig, or the feathery boughs of the almond, and breathing perfume from tall orange trees, cuttings of which some of the friars, themselves transplanted, in after days vainly strove to keep alive at the bleak Escorial. The garden was easily reached from the western porch or gallery by an inclined path, which had been constructed to save the gouty monarch the pain and fatigue of going up and down stairs. This porch, which was much more spacious than the eastern, was his favourite seat when filled with the warmth of the declining day. Commanding the same view as the cabinet, it looked also upon a small parterre, surrounding a fountain, of which the basin was formed of a single block of fine stone, brought, with infinite labour, along the rugged woodland tracks, from a quarry five leagues off, in the sierra.[1]

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Retraite de Charles V.*, p. 21.



PLAN OF THE MONASTERY OF YUSTE, 1554.

A short alley of cypress led from the parterre to the principal gate of the garden. Beyond this gate and wall was the luxuriant forest; a wide space in front of the convent being covered by the shade of a magnificent walnut tree, even then known as the great walnut tree of Yuste, a Nestor of the woods, which has seen the hermit's cell rise into a royal convent and sink into a ruin, and has survived the Spanish order of Jerome, and the Austrian dynasty of Spain.

The great "Nogal" of Yuste.

Domestic arrangements.

The Emperor's attendants were lodged in apartments built for them near the new cloister, and in the lower rooms of that cloister; and the hostel of the convent was given up to the physician, the bakers, and the brewers. The remainder of the household were disposed of in the village of Quacos. The Emperor's private rooms being surrounded on three sides by the garden of the convent, that was resigned to his exclusive possession, and put under the care of his own gardeners. The ground near the windows was planted with flowers, under the citron trees; and farther off, between the shaded paths which led to the summer-house, vegetables were cultivated for his table, which was likewise supplied with milk from a couple of cows that pastured in the forest. The Jeronymites removed their pot-herbs to a piece of ground to the eastward, behind some tall elms and the wall of the

CH. V.
1557.

imperial domain. The entrances to the palace and its dependencies were quite distinct from those which led to the monastery; and all internal communications between the region of the friars and the settlement of the Flemings were carefully closed or built up.

Chief members of household.

The household of the Emperor consisted in all of about sixty persons. His confidential attendants, who composed his "chamber," as it was called, stand thus marshalled in his will, doubtless in the exact order of their precedence, and with the annexed salaries attached to their names.

Luis Quixada	Chamberlain (*mayordomo*)	
Henrique Mathys	Physician	189,000 maravedis, or £54.
Guyon de Moron	Keeper of the wardrobe (*guardaropa*)	400 florins, or £40.
Martin de Gaztelu	Secretary	150,000 maravedis, or £43.
William Van Male	Gentlemen of the chamber (*ayudas de cámara*)	300 florins, or £30.
Charles Prevost[1]		300 „ or £30.
Ogier Bodart[2]		200 „ or £20.
Martin Donjart		300 „ or £30.

[1] The spelling of these Flemish names, both in the printed pages of Sandoval and the MS. of Gonzalez, is most inaccurate and perplexing. "Prevost" is, in many cases, turned into *Pubest*, Dirk is *Chirique*, and others are disguised beyond the powers of detection of any one but a Fleming. Even the Italian Torriano, whose name, in its Spanish familiar form, was Juanelo Torriano, sometimes figures as *Juan el Lotoriano*. In turning the maravedis and florins into English money, I have been guided chiefly by Josef Garcia Cavallero, *Breve Cotejo y Valance de las pesas y medidas de varias naciones*, 4to, Madrid, 1731.

[2] No doubt the person alluded to in chap. iv., p. 103, note, as Bodoarte.

GATE AND PALACE OF YUSTE.

Giovanni Torriano . . .	Watchmaker . . .	75,000 maravedis, or £21, 10s.
Nicholas Beringuen . . .	Gentlemen of the chamber of the second class (*barberos*)	each 250 florins, or £25.
William Wykerslooth . .		
Dirk ——		
Gabriel De Suet		
Peter Van Oberstraaten .	Apothecary	280 florins, or £28.
Peter Guillen	Assistant-apothecary	80 „ or £8.

The salary of Quixada, on returning to his post in 1556, was to be raised, and he himself had been asked to name the amount of increase, which, however, he declined to do, leaving the matter entirely in the hands of his master. Charles, who was the most frugal of men, was at this time in correspondence with the King and the secretary of state on the subject; and in one of his subsequent letters,[1] it appears that he considered the mayordomo's rank entitled him to the same salary as that which had been enjoyed by the chamberlain of Queen Juana, or that which was still paid to the tutor of Don Carlos. Nevertheless, the question remained unsettled, and it was one of the points to be arranged by Archbishop Carranza, who, however, did not arrive at Yuste until the Emperor's accounts with the world were on the eve of being closed.

Quixada, Moron, Gaztelu, and Torriano lived at Quacos, where lodgings were likewise provided for the laundresses, the only female portion of the house-

[1] Gaztelu to Vazquez, 24th August 1557. [Gachard, *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, tom. ii. p. 233.]

CH. V.
1557.

hold, and many of the inferior servants. So many of them being Flemings, a Flemish capuchin, Fray John Alis, was established at Xarandilla for the convenience of those who wished to confess.

Emperor's health and physicians.

On the 4th February, the Emperor awoke in his new home, in excellent health and spirits. He spent the morning in inspecting the rooms, and the arrangement of the furniture; and in the afternoon, he caused himself to be carried in his chair to the hermitage of Belem, about a quarter of a mile from the monastery. The physicians Cornelio and Mole, who were still in attendance, walked out to botanise in the woods, in search of certain specifics against hemorrhoids, with which their patient had been troubled. Not finding them, Cornelio went to look for them at Plasencia, and finally was obliged to procure a supply from Valladolid. Meanwhile the symptoms of the disease abated so much, that when, in about a fortnight, the plants arrived, the Emperor ordered them to be planted in the garden, and even dispensed with the attendance of the consulting doctors, dismissing them with all courtesy, and letters to the Princess-Regent.

A great monarch, leaving of his own free will his palace and the purple for sackcloth and a cell, is so fine a study, that history, misled, nothing loth, by pulpit declamation, has delighted to discover such a model ascetic in the Emperor at Yuste. "His

THE EMPEROR CHARLES V.

CH. V.
1557.

Furniture of the palace.

apartments, when prepared for his reception," says Sandoval, "seemed rather to have been newly pillaged by the enemy, than furnished for a great prince; the walls were bare, except in his bed-chamber, which was hung with black cloth; the only valuables in the house were a few pieces of plate of the plainest kind; his dress, always black, was usually very old; and he sat in an old arm-chair, with but half a seat, and not worth four reals."[1] This picture, accurate in only two of the details, is quite false in its general effect. The Emperor's conventual abode, judging by the inventory of its contents,[2] was probably not worse furnished than many of the palaces in which his reigning days had been passed. He was not surrounded at Yuste with the splendours of his host of Augsburg; but neither did the fashions of the sumptuous Fugger prevail at Ghent or Innsbruck, Valsain or Segovia. For the hangings of his bed-room he preferred sombre black cloth to gayer arras; but he had brought from Flanders suits of rich

[1] Sandoval, tom. ii. p. 825. Wilhelm Snouckaert, who had been the Emperor's librarian at Brussels, and who, under the more euphonious name of Zenocarus, wrote *De republica vita, &c., Cæs. Aug. Quinti Caroli max monarchæ*, fol., Bruges, 1559, says (p. 289) that Charles had only *twelve* servants at Yuste. Yet he asserts (p. 288) that his dull, meagre, and pompous book had been seen and approved by Don Luis de Avila. Cesare Campana, in his *Vita de Cathólico Don Filippo de Austria*, 3 vols. 4to, Vicenza, 1605, part ii. fol. 151, reduces this slender retinue to *four*.

[2] Drawn up after his decease, by Quixada, Gaztelu, and Regla. An abstract of the document will be found in the Appendix.

CH. V.
1557.

tapestry, wrought with figures, landscapes, or flowers, more than sufficient to hang the rest of the apartments; the supply of cushions, eider-down quilts, and linen, was luxuriously ample; his friends sat on chairs covered with black velvet; and he himself reposed either on a chair with wheels, or in an easy chair to which six cushions and a footstool belonged.

Plate.

Of gold and silver plate, he had upwards of thirteen thousand ounces; he washed his hands in silver basins with water poured from silver ewers; the meanest utensil of his chamber was of the same noble material; and from the brief descriptions of his cups, vases, candlesticks, and salt-cellars, it seems probable that his table was graced with several masterpieces of Tobbia and Cellini.

Emperor's dress.

In his dress he had ever been plain to parsimony, and therefore it was not very likely that he should turn dandy in the cloister. His suit of sober black was no doubt the same, or such another, as that painted by Titian in the fine portrait wherein the Emperor still sits before us, pale, thoughtful, and dignified, in the Belvedere Palace at Vienna;[1] and he probably often gave audience in such a "gowne of black taffety and furred nightcap, like a great codpiece," as Roger Ascham saw him in, "sitting

[1] [*Beschreibendes Verzeichniss*, I. Band, 8vo, Wien, 1884, No. 510, p. 362.]

sick in his chamber" at Augsburg, and looking so like Roger's friend, "the parson of Epurstone."[1] In his soldier-days he would knot and patch a broken sword-belt, until it would have disgraced a private trooper;[2] and he even carried his love of

petty economy so far, that being caught near Naumburg in a shower, he took off his velvet cap, which happened to be new, and sheltered it under his arm, going bareheaded in the rain until an old cap was

[1] *Eng. Works*, p. 375.
[2] Salazar de Mendoza, *Origen de las dignidades de Castilla*, fol. Toledo, 1618, p. 161.

CH. V. 1557.

brought him from the town.[1] His jewel-case was, as might be supposed, rather miscellaneous than valuable in its contents, amongst which may be mentioned a few rings and bracelets, some medals and buttons to be worn in the cap, several collars and badges, of various sizes, of the Golden Fleece,[2] some crucifixes of gold and silver, various charms, such as the bezoar-stone against the plague, and gold rings from England against cramp, a morsel of the true cross, and other relics, three or four pocket-watches, and several dozen pairs of spectacles.

Pictures.

If the Emperor despised the vulgar gew-gaws of wealth and power, his retreat was adorned with some pictures, few, but well chosen, and worthy of a discerning lover of art, and of the patron and friend of Titian. A composition on the subject of the Trinity, and three pictures of Our Lady, by that great master, filled the apartments with poetry and

[1] Ranke, *Ottoman and Spanish Empires*, Kelly's translation, 8vo, London, 1843, p. 30.

[2] The collar of this order, given by Ferdinand VII. to the late Duke of Wellington, was believed in Spain to have belonged to Charles V.; and the same story was told of the Fleece sent, in 1851 or 1852, to the President, now "*par la grâce de Dieu et la volonté nationale*," Emperor Napoleon III., of France. It is a compliment which the Spanish crown very likely has in its power to pay; as the Emperor, in the course of his life, must have possessed many badges of the order. In our Duke's case, the collar and badge may have been authentic; but the connecting ornament, as figured in Lord Downes's *Orders and Batons of the Duke of Wellington*, obl. fol., London, 1852, is plainly modern and spurious. No such ornament is found on the medals or contemporary prints of Charles V.

PHILIP II., KING OF SPAIN.

beauty; and as specimens of his skill in another style, there were portraits of the recluse himself and of his Empress. Our Lord bearing His cross, and several other sacred pictures, came from the easel of "Maestro Miguel"—probably Michael Cock, of Antwerp, famous for his skill in copying, and his dishonesty in appropriating the works of Raphael. Three cased miniatures of the Empress, painted in her youthful beauty, and soon after the honeymoon in the Alhambra, kept alive Charles's recollection of the wife whom he had lost; and Mary Tudor, knitting her forbidding brows on a panel of Antonio More, hung on the wall, to remind him of the wife whom he had escaped, and of the kingdom which his son had conquered in that prudent alliance. Philip himself, his sisters, the Princess-Regent, the Queen of Bohemia, and the Duchess of Parma, and the King of France, portrayed on canvas, or in relief on gold or silver medallions, likewise helped by their effigies to enliven the apartments of the Emperor, as well as by their policy to occupy his daily thoughts and nightly dreams. Long tradition,[1] which there seems little reason to doubt, adds, that over the high altar of the convent, and in sight of his own bed, he had placed that celebrated composition called

[1] Fr. Fran. de Los Santos, *Descripcion del Escorial*, fol., Madrid, 1657, fol. 71.

CH. V. 1557.

the "Glory of Titian," a picture of the last judgment, in which Charles, his wife, and their royal children were represented in the master's grandest style, as conducted by angels into life eternal. And another masterpiece of the great Venetian — St. Jerome praying in his cavern, with a sweet landscape in the distance—is also reputed to have formed the apposite altar-piece in the private oratory of the Emperor.

Books.

The palace of Yuste was less rich in books than in pictures. The library indeed barely exceeded thirty volumes, chiefly of works of devotion or science. Amongst the religious books were the treatises on Christian doctrine, by Dr. Constantine de la Fuente,[1] who died soon after, a prisoner for heresy in the dungeons of Seville, and by Fray Pedro de Soto,[2] a luminary of Trent, and long the Emperor's confessor, and now employed by Philip to preach the Roman superstition in the not unwilling halls of Oxford.

Divine philosophy was represented by the writings of Ptolemy and Appian, and by Italian, French, and Castilian[3] versions of Boethius' *De Consolatione*, a work which had the honour of being translated into our English tongue by Alfred and by Chaucer;

[1] *Doctrina Christiana*, 8vo, Antwerp, s. a.
[2] *Institutionum Christianarum*, libri iii. 16mo, August 1548.
[3] Probably that by Fr. Alberto de Aguayo, 4to, Sevilla, 1521.

and which for a thousand years was pre-eminently the book which "no gentleman's library should be without." For historical reading, there were Cæsar's *Commentaries*, in Italian, the *German Wars*, by the Grand Commander of Alcántara,[1] and some sheets in manuscript of the great chronicle upon which the canon Ocampo was now at work at Zamora. Besides the Psalter, the only poetry in the collection was the *Chevalier Délibéré* of Ollivier de la Marche, and the Castilian translation, versified from the Emperor's prose by Acuña,[2] the latter being in manuscript, and both adorned with coloured plates and drawings. "A large volume, filled with illuminated drawings on vellum," seems to imply that Charles brought with him to the woods some memorials of Clovio and Holanda, as well as of the bolder pencil of Titian; and there were also several illuminated missals and hours, and a quantity of maps of Italy, Flanders, Germany, and the Indies. Most of the books were bound in crimson velvet, with clasps and corners of silver, the sumptuous dress in which the early bibliomaniacs loved to array their treasures, but which the ever-teeming press was fast turning into a more sober garb of goatskin or hogskin.

Music, ever one of the favourite pleasures of

Music.

[1] Supra, chap. iv. pp. 128-9.

[2] Ibid. p. 108.

CH. V.
1557.

Charles, here also lent its charms to soothe the cares which followed him from the world, and the dyspepsia from which he would not even try to escape. A little organ, with a silver case and of exquisite tone, was long kept at the Escorial, with the tradition,[1] that it had been the companion of his journeys, and the solace of his evenings when encamped before Tunis. The Order of St. Jerome being desirous to gratify the taste of their guest, the general had reinforced the choir of Yuste with fourteen or fifteen friars, chosen from the different monasteries under his sway, for their fine voices and musical skill. In the management of the choir and organ, the Emperor took a lively interest; and from the window of his bedroom his voice might often be heard to accompany the chant of the friars. His ear never failed to detect a wrong note, and the mouth whence it came; and he would frequently mention the name of the offender, with the addition of *hideputa bermejo*, or some other epithet savouring more of the camp than the cloister. A singing-master from Plasencia being one day in the church, ventured to join in the service; but he had not sung many bars before orders came down from the palace that the interloper should be silenced or turned out.

Organ.

Choir.

[1] Beckford's *Italy, Spain, and Portugal* [2 vols. 8vo, London, 1834 (Spain, Letter X.), vol. ii. p. 320], fcap. 8vo, London, 1840, p. 323.

CH. V.
1557.

Guerrero,[1] a chapel-master of Seville, having composed and presented to the Emperor a book of masses and motets, one of the former was soon selected for performance at Yuste. When it was ended, the imperial critic remarked to his confessor that Guerrero, the *hideputa!* was a cunning thief; and going over the piece, he pointed out the stolen passages, and named the masters whose works had suffered pillage.[2]

The chaplains.

Eloquence was likewise an art which the Emperor loved, and of which the order desired to provide him with choice specimens. Three chaplains, who were esteemed the best preachers in the fold of Jerome, were ordered to repair to Yuste for his delectation. The foremost of these, Fray Francisco de Villalva, had entered the convent of Montamarta, near Zamora, about 1530. Being a promising youth, the prior sent him to the college of the order at Siguença, whence he came forth an expert dialec-

Fray Francisco de Villalva.

[1] Francisco Guerrero, born in the first half of the sixteenth century at Seville. In his youth he went to Rome and composed a *Miserere* for four voices, for the Papal chapel. In 1565, he printed at Paris, in the press of Nicolas du Chemin, a collection of six masses for four voices, which he dedicated to Sebastian, King of Portugal. He became chapel-master of the Cathedral of Seville. The library of the King of Portugal contained, as appears by the Catalogue, three books of motets by him, for three, four, and five voices, and two books of motets for five, six, and eight voices, but it is uncertain whether they are printed or in MS. Tilman Sasato printed in 1565, at Louvain, some Magnificats for four voices, by Guerrero. F. J. Fetis, *Biographie Universelle des Musiciens*, 8 tomes, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1836, tom. iv. p. 439.

[2] Sandoval, ii. p. 828.

CH. V.
1557.

tician, and soon rose to be the most popular teacher in Castile. His theological professor being appointed Archbishop of Granada, took him into his service, and, in that capacity, Villalva had an opportunity of studying for a year the best Italian orators at the Council of Trent. He was afterwards preacher to the great hospital at Zaragoza, whence he was summoned to Yuste. There his eloquence charmed the Emperor, as it had charmed the peasants of Zamora; and he so eclipsed his colleagues, that they seem to have been seldom called to the pulpit except during a few weeks when Charles, at the urgent request of the city of Zaragoza, spared him for awhile to his old admirers.

Fray Juan de Açoloras.

Fray Juan de Açoloras, a monk from the great convent of Our Lady of Prado, near Valladolid, was also an eminent divine and schoolman, and he had so successfully combated the harsh tone and accent of his native Biscay, that his delivery in the pulpit was considered as a model of grace.

Fray Juan de Santandres.

Fray Juan de Santandres, from the convent of Santa Catalina, at Talavera, was less eloquent than his compeers, but highly esteemed for purity of doctrine and life. Besides these regular and retained ministers, any Jeronymite with a reputation for preaching who chanced to pass that way, was sure of an invitation to display his powers before the Emperor at Yuste.

The simple and regular habits of Charles accorded

WALNUT-TREE AND CONVENT GATE.

Emperor's day.

well with the monotony of monastic life. Every morning, Father Regla appeared at his bedside to inquire how he had passed the night, and to assist him in his private devotions. Mathys, the doctor, was next admitted; and Torriano the mechanician was also an early visitor.[1] The Emperor then rose and was dressed by his valets; after which he heard mass, going down, when his health permitted, into the church. According to his invariable custom, which in Italy was said to have given rise to the saying, *dalla messa, alla mensa*, from mass to mess, he went from these devotions to dinner about noon. The meal was long, for his appetite was voracious; his hands were so disabled with gout, that carving, which he nevertheless insisted on doing for himself, was a tedious process; and even mastication was slow and difficult, his teeth being so few and far between. The physician attended him at table, and at least learned the causes of the mischief which his art was to counteract. The patient, while he dined, conversed with the doctor on matters of science, generally of natural history; and if any difference of opinion arose, Father Regla was sent for to settle the point out of Pliny. The cloth being drawn, the confessor usually read aloud from one of the

[1] M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Retraite de Charles V.*, p. 33, says that Torriano was the first person who entered the imperial bedchamber; but I prefer the more probable account of Siguença.

CH. V. 1557.

Emperor's favourite divines, Augustine, Jerome, or Bernard, an exercise which was followed by conversation, and an hour of slumber. At three o'clock the monks were mustered in the convent to hear a sermon delivered by one of the imperial preachers, or a passage read by Fray Bernardino de Salinas from the Bible, frequently from the Epistle to the Romans, the book which the Emperor preferred. To these discourses or readings Charles always listened with profound attention; and if sickness or business compelled him to be absent, he never failed to send a formal excuse to the prior, and to require from his confessor an account of what had been preached or read. The rest of the afternoon was devoted to seeing the official people from court, or to the transaction of business with his secretary.

Torriano and his clocks.

Sometimes the workshop of Torriano was the resource of the Emperor's spare time. He was very fond of clocks and watches, and curious in reckoning to a fraction the hours of his retired leisure. The Lombard had long been at work upon an elaborate astronomical timepiece, which was to perform not only the ordinary duties of a clock, but to tell the days of the month and year, and to denote the movements of the planets. In this delicate labour the mechanician advanced as slowly as the doctors of Trent in the construction of their system of theology. Twenty years had elapsed since he had first conceived

CH. V.
1557.

the idea, and the actual execution cost him three years and a half. Indeed, the work had not received the last touches at the time of the Emperor's death. Of wheels alone it contained eighteen hundred; the material of the case was gilt bronze, and its form round, about two feet in diameter, and somewhat less in height, with a tapering top, which ended in a tower containing the bell and hammer. Charles was greatly pleased with the ingenious toy; he inquired what inscription the maker intended to put upon it; and being told that nothing had been contemplated beyond the words, IANNELLVS . TVRRIANVS . CREMONENSIS . HOROLOGIORVM . ARCHITECTOR . added FACILE . PRINCEPS . which accordingly made part of the epigraph. On the back of the clock Juanelo caused his own portrait to be graven, encircling it with a legend, less in accordance with his original modest intentions than with the Emperor's laudatory amendment, QVI . SIM . SCIES . SI . PAR . OPVS . FACERE . CONABERIS.

He likewise made for the Emperor a smaller clock, less multiform and ambitious in its functions, and enclosed in a case of crystal, which allowed the working of the machinery to be seen, and suggested the motto—VT . ME . FVGIENTEM . AGNOSCAM.

Self-acting mill.

He also constructed a self-acting mill, which, though small enough to be hidden in a friar's sleeve, could grind two pecks of corn in a day; and the

CH. V.

1557.

Mechanical toys.

figure of a lady who danced on the table to the sounds of her own tambourine.[1] Other puppets were also attributed to him, minute men and horses which fought, and pranced, and blew tiny trumpets, and birds which flew about the room as if alive; toys which, at first, scared the prior and his monks out of their wits, and for awhile gained the artificer the dangerous fame of a wizard.[2]

Emperor's pet birds and shooting excursions.

Sometimes the Emperor fed his pet birds, which appear to have succeeded in his affections the stately wolf-hounds that followed at his heel in the days when he sat to Titian; or he sauntered among his trees and flowers, down to the little summer-house looking out upon the Vera; or sometimes, but more rarely, he strolled into the forest with his gun, and shot a few of the wood-pigeons which peopled the great chestnut trees. His outdoor exercise was always taken on foot, or, if the gout forbade, in his chair or litter; for the first time that he mounted his pony he was seized with a violent giddiness, and almost fell into the arms of his attendants.[3] Such was the last appearance in the saddle of the accom-

His last appearance on horse-back.

[1] Ambrosio de Morales, *Antiguedades de España*, fol., Alcalá de Henares, 1575, fol. 93. Morales knew Torriano well, and appears to have seen the clock which he so minutely describes, although he does not say where it was ultimately placed.

[2] Strada, *De Bello Belg.*, lib. i.

[3] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, ii. p. 825, and Siguença, iii. p. 192, whence many of these details are taken.

plished cavalier, of whom his soldiers used to say, "that had he not been born a king, he would have been the prince of light horsemen,"[1] and whose seat and hand on the bay charger presented to him by our bluff King Hal,[2] won, at Calais gate, the applause of the English knights fresh from those tourneys,

"Where England vied with France in pride on the famous field of gold."

Next came vespers; and after vespers supper, a meal very much like the dinner, consisting frequently of pickled salmon and other unwholesome dishes, which made Quixada's loyal heart quake within him.

---

[1] J. A. Vera y Figueroa, *Vida del Emp. Carlos V.*, 4to, Brussels, 1656, p. 263.

[2] Stow's *Annals*, fol., London, 1631, p. 511.

CHAPTER VI.

STATE-CRAFT IN THE CLOISTER.

DIMLY seen over the wintry woodlands, and through a November mist, Yuste had appeared to the household at Xarandilla a place of penance; but their dismal forebodings were by no means realised in their new quarters on the fresh hillside, bright with the sunshine of the budding spring. Writing on the day of the Emperor's arrival there, Monsieur de la Chaulx complained of nothing but the Jeronymite neighbours. "His Majesty," he said, "was delighted with the place, and still more were the friars delighted to see him among them, an event which they had almost ceased to hope for. May it please God that he shall find them endurable,

Household more reconciled to Yuste.

Monsieur de la Chaulx.

CH. VI. 1557.

for they are ever apt to be importunate, especially those who are such blockheads as some of the fraternity here seem to be." La Chaulx himself had apparently recovered from his ague, and become reconciled to the climate of Estremadura, for being one of the chamberlains who had been placed on the retired list, he made the pilgrimage to Guadalupe, and afterwards resided for a few weeks on a commandery of Alcántara which he enjoyed in the province. He was afterwards chosen by the Emperor as his envoy to the Queen of England, and set out on that mission about the middle of March, with letters in which Charles assured Mary "that although his retreat was all he could wish it, he would not, in taking his own ease, fail to assist by word and deed such measures as might be necessary for the furtherance of those great affairs, of which the King, his son, now had his hands full."

Instructions had come from Valladolid to the local authorities of Plasencia and the Vera, requiring their implicit obedience to the order of the Emperor; and contentment, or an approach to contentment, returned to the troubled minds of the household. Secretary Gaztelu candidly avowed that he had become reconciled to Yuste, and that as a residence it was far better than Xarandilla. Quixada admitted that the place seemed to agree with his master, and that his general health was excellent.

Improvement in Emperor's health.

While acknowledging the receipt of salmon from Valladolid, lampreys from the Tagus, and pickled soles sent by the Duchess of Bejar, he nevertheless owned that His Majesty's twinges of gout had lately been less frequent and less severe. On St. Martin's day, he said, he walked without assistance to the high altar to make his offering. "You cannot think," writes he to Vazquez, "how well and plump he looks; and his fresh colour is to me quite astonishing. But," he adds mournfully, "this is a very lonely and doleful existence; and if His Majesty came here in search of solitude, by my faith! he has found it." In another letter he says, "This is the most solitary and wretched life I have ever known, and quite insupportable to those who are not content to leave their lands and the world, which I, for one, am not content to do."

Quixada complains of solitude of Yuste.

Philip II. assured the Venetian envoy at Bruxelles that his father's health seemed as completely restored by the air of Yuste as if he had been there for ten years.[1] From the time of his arrival at the convent, he had been able to give close and regular attention to public affairs. It is worthy of remark that during the greater part of his residence in Spain, from his landing at Laredo in September 1556, to the 3rd May 1558, his public despatches

Emperor's attention to business.

[1] *Relationi* of Badovaro. See supra, chap. iii. p. 80.

CH. VI.

1557.

His style and title.

were always headed "the Emperor," and addressed to "Juan Vazquez de Molina, *my* secretary." He wrote not only with the authority, but in the formal style of a sovereign, and until his abdication of the imperial throne had been accepted by the Diet, he considered himself, as in fact he was, Emperor of the Romans. A dispute about precedence, the great question of diplomacy until the first French Revolution, arising at the court of Lisbon between the ambassadors of France and Spain, he accredited the Spaniard as ambassador from himself as well as from his son, and so foiled the pretensions of the Frenchman. It soon became known that the recluse at Yuste had as much power as the Regent at Valladolid, and the gate was therefore besieged with suitors. Women presented themselves, asserting that they were widows of veterans who had fought in Germany, in Italy, or in Africa, —"a class of petitioners," said Gaztelu, "very prone to imposture," which was therefore civilly referred to Valladolid. One Anton Sanchez, a venerable countryman from Criptana, came to complain of the maladministration of the villages and lands of the Order of Santiago; he seemed respectable as well as venerable, and was kindly received and dismissed with letters of recommendation to the council of the orders. A fiery English courier, who had been kept waiting a whole month at court for

He accredits an ambassador to Portugal.

Petitioners.

the answer to his despatches, losing all patience, made his way across the mountains to lodge his complaint at Yuste. The Emperor received him with perfect courtesy, and transmitted orders to Valladolid that his business should be concluded, and he sent home forthwith.

Refutation of tale that he repented of his retiral.

It has been frequently asserted that the Emperor's life at Yuste was a long repentance for his resignation of power; and that Philip was constantly tormented, in England or in Flanders, by the fear that his father might one day return to the throne.[1] This idle tale can be accounted for only by the melancholy fact, that historians have found it easier to invent than to investigate. An opinion certainly prevailed, even among those who had access to good political information,[2] that Charles would resume power when his health was sufficiently re-established, an opinion founded, perhaps, on the fact that the cession of the imperial crown was still incomplete, and on the difficulty which the world found in believing that the first prince in Christendom had, of his own free will, descended for ever from the first throne in the world. But, however it may have arisen, the notion was justified by no word or deed of the Emperor. So far from re-

[1] G. Leti, *Vita del' Imp. Carlo V.*, 4 vols. 12mo, Amsterd., 1700, iv. 362-3. Amelot de la Houssaye, *Memoires*, 2 vols. 12mo, Amst., 1700, i. 294.

[2] *Relatione* of Badovaro.

CH. VI. 1557.

gretting his retirement, Charles refused to entertain several proposals that he should quit it. Although he had abdicated the Spanish crowns, Philip had not yet formally taken possession of them, and the Princess-Regent, fearing that the turbulent and still free people of Aragon might make that a pretext for refusing the supplies, was desirous that her father should summon and attend a Cortes at Monçon, in which the oath might be solemnly taken to the new king. The Emperor's disinclination to move obliged her to find other means of meeting the difficulty, which was finally surmounted without disturbing his repose. Later in the year, in the autumn of 1557, it was confidently reported that the old cloistered soldier would take the command of an army which it was found necessary to assemble in Navarre, and at one mournful moment he had actually taken it into consideration whether he should leave his choir, his sermons, and his flowers, for the fatigues and privations of a camp. He was often urged, both by the King and the Princess-Regent, directly by letters, and covertly through his secretary and chamberlain, to instruct the Prince of Orange to keep in abeyance as long as possible the deed of imperial abdication; the reasons alleged being that when the sceptre had absolutely departed, the Pope would find fresh pretexts for interference in the internal affairs of the empire, and Spanish

influence would be woefully weakened, in the duchy of Milan especially, and generally throughout Europe. But on this point Charles would listen neither to argument nor to entreaty: he was willing to exercise his imperial rights so long as they remained to him; but he would not retard by an hour the fulfilment of the exact conditions to which he had subscribed at Bruxelles. Philip, on his side, seems to have been as free from jealousy as his father was free from repentance. Although frequently implored by his sister to return to Spain and relieve her of the burden of power, he continued in Flanders, maintaining that his presence was of greater importance near the seat of war, and that so long as their father lived and would assist her with his counsel, she would find no great difficulty in conducting the internal affairs of Castile. In truth, Philip's filial affection and reverence shines like a grain of fine gold in the base metal of his character: his father was the one wise and strong man who crossed his path whom he never suspected, undervalued, or used ill. The jealousy of which he is popularly accused, however, seems at first sight probable, considering the many blacker crimes of which he stands convicted before the world. But the repose of Charles cannot have been troubled with regrets for his resigned power, seeing that in truth he never resigned it at all, but wielded

CH. VI.
1557.

it at Yuste as firmly as he had wielded it at Augsburg or Toledo. He had given up little beyond the trappings of royalty; and his was not a mind to regret the pageant, the guards, and the gold sticks.

His revenue

The portion which he had reserved to himself of the wealth of half the world was one-sixteenth part of the rents of the crown,[1] and a share of the profits of the silver mines of Guadalcanal. The sum thus raised must have fluctuated from year to year; nor has the amount been ascertained with any approach to exactness. Some writers[2] have estimated it as high as one hundred thousand crowns; others[3] have fixed it as low as twelve thousand ducats, or about fifteen hundred pounds sterling, a provision scarcely amounting to the half of that which his will directed to be made for his natural son, Don John. The truth probably lies between the two statements. A sum of thirty thousand ducats was at the Emperor's disposal in the fortress of Simancas. Soon after he had settled himself at Yuste, he sent Gaztelu to Valladolid to arrange with Vazquez about the time

[1] The technical words of Gaztelu are, "derechos de once y seis al millar,"—"duties of eleven and six in the thousand;" of which I have been able to find no explanation. My friend, Don Pascual de Gayangos, thinks that it ought, perhaps, to have been "onça y millar," meaning one sixteenth of a thousand, or about $6\frac{3}{16}$ per cent. of the crown rents, the word "onça," or ounce, the $\frac{1}{16}$ of a pound, being frequently used to denote that fraction.

[2] Th. Juste, *L'Abdication*, p. 29.

[3] Sandoval, *Hist. de Carlos V.*, lib. xxxii., c. 39, p. 820.

and mode of paying the instalments of his revenue. He was likewise instructed to provide for the regular payment of certain alms to the convents in which daily prayers were to be said for the Emperor's soul, the list being headed by the name of the great Dominican house of Our Lady of Atocha, the miraculous image which is still the favourite idol of Madrid. The envoy returned from Valladolid on 8th March, bringing the good news that the mines of Guadalcanal were producing in great and unusual abundance, and that the King of Portugal had consented that the Infanta Mary should visit her mother in Spain. The despatches from Yuste make no complaints of that unpunctuality of the treasury remittances on which historians have frequently had to moralise. Gaztelu, indeed, once cautioned the secretary of state against delays in making his payments, the Emperor, he wrote, being most particular in requiring the exact performance of each part of the service of his household.[1] The advice appears to have been followed; for the only other remark on the subject is one made by Charles himself—"The money for the expenses of my house always comes to hand in very good time."[2]

punctually paid.

[1] Gaztelu to Vazquez, June [16], 1557. [Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. i. p. 156.]

[2] "La provision de dinero para mi casa llega siempre á muy bien tiempo." Emperor to Vazquez, Sept. 22, 1557.

CH. VI.

1557.

Financial difficulties of Spain.

In spite of the untold wealth which Spain possessed beyond the ocean, the crown was in constant distress for money. That financial ruin which was completed by Olivares, had begun in the days of Granvella. By means of bills of exchange, obtained at usurious rates from the bankers of Genoa, the colonial revenue was forestalled two years before it was collected; and the bars and ingots of Mexico and Peru may be said to have been eaten up by courtiers and soldiers, fired away in cannon, and chanted away by friars, before they had been dug from the caverns of Sierra Madre, or washed from the gravel of Yauricocha. When in due time the precious freight of the galleons reached the royal vaults at Seville, it belonged almost wholly to foreign merchants; and the country having no manufacturing or commercial industry in which the golden harvest could become the seed of new public and private wealth, it passed away to enrich poorer soils and fructify in colder climes. The popular sense of the value of the golden regions was embodied in the proverb, used by expectants heartsick with deferred hope, who said that the event despaired of "would come with the Indian revenue."[1] The war in Italy and the war in Flanders, the fleets in

[1] "No se logra mas que hazienda de las Indias." *Mémoires curieux envoyez de Madrid*, sm. 8vo, Paris, 1670.

CHURCH AND PALACE OF YUSTE.

the Mediterranean, the fortresses on the shores of Africa, now demanded such vast and increasing supplies, that the Princess-Regent was almost at her wit's end for ways and means of obtaining them. Many a hint did she drop, in her despatches, of the good use she could make of the money at Simancas. But the Emperor would take no hints, and, like another Shylock, preferred keeping his ducats to pleasing his daughter.

Princess-Regent seizes bullion

Necessity, which has no law and respects none, at length drove the Princess and her council to a step contrary to every principle of justice. The plate-fleet having arrived at Seville, orders were sent down to the Indian Board to take possession of the whole bullion, not only of that which belonged to the crown, but also of that which was the property of private adventurers, who were to be paid its value in places under government, in orders on the land revenue, or in treasury bonds bearing interest. As might be expected, the robbers who proposed to buy, and the victims who were required to sell, differed widely about the price. The places were refused, the bonds scoffed at; and finally the traders, aided by the wanderers from whom the gains of their wild lives were about to be wrested, attacked the royal officers as they were landing their booty, and rescued it from the grasp of the crown.

belonging to traders of Seville,

who resist her officers

with success.

When the news of this transaction reached Yuste,

CH. VI.

1557.

Emperor's indignation against them.

the Emperor went into a fit of passion very unusual to his cool temperament. The view which he took of the matter was entirely royal and wrong. He would not, perhaps he could not, see the injustice which had been done to the subject; but he felt most keenly the indignity which had been suffered by the crown. The rough gold-seekers who had thus boldly defended their hard-earned wealth, repelling violence by violence, appeared to him no better than pirates who had boarded a royal galleon on the high seas, or brigands who had rifled a train of royal mules on the king's highway. Were his health sufficiently strong, he said, he would go down to Seville himself, and sift the matter to the bottom; he would not be trammelled by the ordinary forms of justice, but would at once confiscate the goods of the offenders, and place their persons in durance, there to fast and do penance for their crime. Unjust as this view of the affair was, it was precisely the view which the traders expected the government to take, and which they would themselves have taken had they been the government. Alarmed for the consequences, the prior and consuls of the merchants of Seville—the chairman and chamber of commerce of their day—raised a sum of money by subscription, and set out to Valladolid with their offering, in hopes of pacifying the Regent and the council. On the way, they craved leave to present themselves

and tell their story at Yuste. The Emperor refused this request with scorn, and assured the Princess that he would communicate his indignation to the King, were he to write with both feet in the grave, or, to use his own forcible phrase, "were he holding death in his teeth."[1] A commission appointed to examine the matter began its sittings in March, and continued them, with but slender results, through the summer and autumn, urged at intervals to despatch by the impatient inquiries transmitted from Yuste. It was not till September that the Emperor showed any symptoms of being reasonable on the matter; nor, till he had heard that the most serious discontent prevailed among the commercial men of Seville, would he allow Gaztelu to write that, for the sake of public credit, it might be proper for the Regent to alter her policy towards them, and take such a course as would keep them in good humour. One of the arrested culprits, Francisco Tello, however, died, after having been twice submitted to the torture, in the dungeons of Simancas, merely for refusing his gold to that exigency of state against which the neighbouring strong box of the Emperor was inexorably shut.

Foreign affairs;

In the spring of 1557, the foreign affairs of Spain

[1] "Soy bueno por ello aunque tengo la muerte entre los dientes, holgarè de hacerlo." Emp. to Princess-Regent, 1st April 1557.

CH. VI.
1557.

Ruy Gomez de Silva.

had assumed so grave an aspect, that the King determined to lay them before his father for his consideration and advice. For this important mission he selected Ruy Gomez de Silva, Count of Melito, afterwards so well known as Prince of Eboli. This celebrated favourite, now in his fortieth year, was head of a considerable Portuguese branch of the great house of Silva which traced its heroic lineage to the kings who reigned in Alba Longa. At the marriage of the Emperor he had held the Portuguese Infanta's train as one of her pages; attached to the person of Philip from the cradle, he had been the playmate of his childhood, and the friend of his youth; he had accompanied the Prince on his travels, and had supported the timid and awkward knight at the tourney and cane-play; not long since he had carried the wedding-gifts to the fond bride who awaited the King at Winchester; and he was himself married to the proud beauty and heiress who was, or was to be, his master's imperious mistress. Strong in these various relations, as in capacity and experience, he was every day gaining ground upon his rival, the magnificent Bishop of Arras, and already, as one of the most important personages who stood near the Spanish throne,[1] he was

[1] Luis de Salazar, *Historia de la Casa de Silva*, 2 vols., fol., Madrid, 1685, ii. 456.

commencing that long career of favour and success, which obtained for him, in after days, from his ablest disciple, the name of the "Aristotle of the philosophy of courts."[1] Charles had a high opinion of the favourite's prudence and abilities; he had for some days looked with anxiety for his arrival, and he now received him with every demonstration of cordiality. Although he had strictly forbidden the friars to entertain guests, on this occasion he relaxed the rule, and ordered Quixada to provide him a lodging within the precincts of Yuste. The favoured envoy arrived there early on the 23rd March, and was closeted for five hours with the Emperor. Part of his message was an entreaty on behalf of the King, that the Emperor, if his health permitted, and state affairs rendered it expedient, would remove from the monastery to some other residence nearer the seat of government.[2] Philip also desired his father's opinion on the policy of carrying Don Carlos to Flanders to receive the oath of allegiance as heir-apparent to the dominions of the house of Burgundy; and if the Emperor approved the design, the Count was instructed to bring

Emperor's high opinion of him.

He is lodged in the convent.

Philip desires Emperor to reside nearer Valladolid.

Consults him as to sending Don Carlos to Flanders.

[1] *Obras y Relaciones de Antonio Perez*, 8vo, Geneva, 1744, *Cartas á un Señor Amigo*, p. 636, quoted by Mignet in *Antonio Perez et Philippe II.* [English translation by C. Cocks, sm. 8vo, London, 1846, p. 306.]

[2] Philip's original letter of the 2nd February 1557 to Ruy Gomez de Silva, is given in the MS. of Gonzalez.

CH. VI.

1557.

Emperor disapproves.

the Prince with him when he returned.[1] The journey, however, was never made by Don Carlos, his grandfather considering that his fitful and passionate temperament rendered it as yet unsafe to produce him to the world.[2] Next day, the Count had a second audience as long as the first; and the day following, the 25th March, after hearing mass at daybreak, he mounted his horse and took the road to Toledo.

War in Netherlands and Navarre.

The external affairs of the kingdom certainly required at this time counsel of the greatest sagacity, and action of the greatest promptitude and courage. War was raging on the frontier of the Netherlands, and it was threatened on the frontier of Navarre. Coligny, at the head of a considerable army, was laying waste Flemish Artois; and Henry II. was preparing forces for still greater operations. Although Anthony of Navarre was still engaged in treating about an amicable cession of his rights to the actual possessor of his kingdom, he was suspected to be secretly treating with France for aid to enable him to regain Pamplona by the strong hand. The Duke of Alburquerque was charged with the defence of Navarre; and in Flanders, where the more important battles were to be fought, Philip II. had wisely com-

[1] Salazar, *Hist. de la Casa de Silva*, ii. 473.
[2] Luis Cabrera de Cordova, *Filipe Segundo*, fol., Madrid, 1619, p. 144.

mitted his cause to the military genius of the Duke of Savoy.

Affairs in Italy.

Italy also presented grave causes for anxiety. Had the power of the Roman see equalled the fury of Paul IV., the house of Austria would long ago have found its neck beneath the heel of that fierce old pontiff. The Duke of Guise, with a gallant army, was now in the States of the Church, and advancing upon the confines of Naples. The insolent incapacity of the Caraffas, and the inefficiency of their warlike preparations, had not as yet cooled the ardour of their French allies, nor become fully evident to their antagonist, the Duke of Alba. At the beginning of this year's campaign, fortune had frowned on the Spanish arms. The Papal forces, led by Strozzi, had recovered Ostia, and had driven the Castilians out of Castel-Gandolfo, Palestrina, and other strongholds, by which they had hoped to bridle both the Pope and the Frenchman. Even the Duke of Pagliano, Caraffa as he was, had stormed Vicovaro and put the Spanish garrison to the sword.[1] Alba, therefore, was acting strictly on the defensive, being unwilling to waste blood and treasure on fields where nothing was to be gained but dry blows and barren glory, or, as he said, "to stake the crown of

Duke of Guise invades Naples.

Duke of Alba defends it.

[1] Alex. Andrea, *De la guerra de Roma y de Napoles*, Año de MD. LVI. y LVII, 4to, Madrid, 1589, pp. 146, 151.

CH. VI.
1557.

Naples against the brocade surcoat of the Duke of Guise."[1]

The aid of the Great Turk enabled the Most Christian King to attack his Most Catholic brother by sea as well as by land, and to harass him at many points of his extended shores. For the second time within a few years, Christendom was scandalised by seeing St. Denis, St. Peter, and Mahomet leagued against St. James. Solyman the Magnificent had ascended the throne of the East in the same year when Charles V. became Emperor of the West. His reign was no less active and eventful, and far more uniform in its prosperity. By the capture of Rhodes, he had driven back the outpost of Christendom to Malta; he had performed Moslem worship in the Cathedral of Buda, and had pushed his ravages to the gates of Vienna; his power was now acknowledged far up the Adriatic; and by his judicious protection of the pirates of Africa and the Ægean isles, his influence was paramount in the Mediterranean.

Solyman the Magnificent.

Pirates of the Mediterranean.

The growth which this piracy was permitted to attain is a striking proof of the mutual jealousy and distrust which rendered the Christian powers incapable of any combined and sustained effort for

[1] J. A. Vera y Figueroa, *Resultas de la vida de Don Fern. Alvarez de Toledo, Duque de Alba*, 4to, Milan, 1643, p. 66.

the common interests of Christendom. From Cadiz to Patras there was hardly a spot which had not suffered, and none which felt itself safe, from the wild marauders from the shores of Numidia. Better built, and better manned and equipped than any other vessels on the ocean, their light galliots and brigantines were ready at all seasons, put out in all weathers, and stooping on their prey with the swiftness and precision of the cormorant, overbore resistance or baffled pursuit. Sailing in great fleets, they laid waste entire districts and carried off whole populations. A few years before, Barbarossa had sold at one time, at his beautiful home on the Bosphorus, where his white tomb still gleams amongst its cypresses, no less than 16,000 Christian captives into slavery. It was not only the seaman, the merchant, or the traveller who was exposed to this calamitous fate. The peasant of Aragon or Provence, who returned at sunset from pruning his vines or his olives far from the sound of the waves, might on the morrow be ploughing the main, chained to a Barbary oar. Sometimes a whole brotherhood of friars, from telling their beads at ease in Valencia, found themselves hoeing in the rice-fields of Tripoli; sometimes the vestals of a Sicilian nunnery were parcelled out amongst the harems of Fez. The blood-red flag ventured fearlessly within range of the guns of St. Elmo or Monjuich; it had been seen

Barbarossa's ravages.

CH. VI.
1557.

within the mouth of the Tiber; it had actually floated on the walls of Gaeta; Leo X. had nearly fallen into captivity beneath it; and when it appeared off the Ligurian shore, the persecuted Duke of Savoy wisely fled inland from his castle of Nice. Yet Europe continued to endure these outrages, as it might have endured a visitation of earthquakes or of locusts; and the white-robed fathers of mercy annually set forth on their beneficent pilgrimages with a ransom of itself sufficient to perpetuate the evils which the order of redemption was intended to relieve. Meanwhile, with such a navy at his disposal as that of Tunis, and Tripoli, and Algiers, and such commanders as Barbarossa, Sala, or Mami the Arnaut, the Sultan wielded the greatest maritime power in the Mediterranean, and was the most formidable of the foes against whom the wisdom of Charles was now called to defend Spain.

Levies for army of Flanders.

Flanders, however, appeared to be the point upon which it was advisable that the strength of the crown should be first concentrated. Ruy Gomez de Silva had been instructed to raise 8,000 Castilians for the army of the Duke of Savoy. But the treasury of Valladolid being already drained to its last ducat, it became necessary to look elsewhere for the sinews of war. The Emperor was of opinion that it was now time to apply for aid to the Church. The Primate of Spain, Cardinal Siliceo, was very

Emperor appeals to the Church for a loan.

infirm and very loyal, and his tenure of the second wealthiest see in Europe had been sufficiently long to make him very rich. To his money-bags it was therefore determined first to apply the lancet, and the operator at once set off for Toledo.

Archbishops of Toledo and Zaragoza.

The good old prelate bled freely, and without a murmur, pouring into the royal coffers, in the shape of a benevolence, or loan which had but slender chance of being paid, no less a sum than 400,000 ducats. Hernando de Aragon, Archbishop of Zaragoza, who was next applied to, was also tolerably generous, contributing, from revenues of no great magnificence, and already exhausted by pious architectural works,[1] 20,000 ducats.

Bishop of Cordoba.

The Bishop of Cordoba was less tractable. Although his see was very rich, and he himself an illegitimate scion of the house of Austria, it was not until he had received several hints from the Emperor himself that he consented to advance 100,000 ducats.

Archbishop of Seville.

Fernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville, was, however, the prelate who strove with most spirit against the spoliations of the King's envoy. Magnificent to the Church, and mean to all the rest of the world, profligate, selfish, and bigoted, with some refine-

[1] Martin Carillo, *Historia de San Valero de Çaragoça*, in the *Catálogo de los Prelados de Aragon*, 4to, Zaragoza, 1615, p. 270. He was son of Alonso de Aragon, Archbishop of Zaragoza, a natural son of Ferdinand the Catholic.

CH. VI.
1557.

ment of taste, and much dignity of manner, he was a fair specimen of the great ecclesiastic of the sixteenth century. In spite of his seventy-four years, his abilities and energies were unimpaired, while his selfishness and bigotry were daily becoming more intense. The splendid mitre of St. Isidore was the sixth that had pressed his politic brows; for, beginning his episcopal career in the little see of Helna[1] in Rousillon, he had intrigued his way not only to the throne of Seville, but also to the chair of Grand-Inquisitor at Valladolid.[2] He left, as the principal memorials of his name, as Archbishop, the crown of masonry and the weathercock Faith on the beautiful belfry of his cathedral at Seville; and as Inquisitor, 2,400 death-warrants in the archives of the Holy Office of Spain.

His delays.

When this astute prelate received from Ruy Gomez de Silva the unwelcome notice that the King expected his aid in the shape of mundane coin as well as of spiritual fire, he adopted the truly Castilian tactics of delay, and allowed two months to elapse without returning any definite reply. At length the Emperor himself addressed him in a letter similar in style to that which had opened the purse-strings of the Bishop of Cordoba. It was with

[1] It was sometimes spelt *Elna*.

[2] D. Ortiz de Zuñiga, *Annales de Sevilla*, fol., Madrid, 1677, pp. 503, 632.

much surprise, said Charles, that he found an old servant of the crown, who had held great preferment for so many years, thus backward with his offering when the emergency was so grave and the security so good. The Archbishop, seeing the affair growing serious, now left the court and retired to the monastery, a few leagues off, of St. Martin de la Fuente. From this retreat he penned a reply, than which nothing could be more temperate, plausible, dignified, and evasive. Professing the profoundest reverence for his Catholic Cæsarean Majesty, and gratitude for his past favours, he assured him that he never had had the good fortune to possess 400,000 ducats in his life. His revenues were more than absorbed by the colleges which he was building at Salamanca and Oviedo, and by a chapel, likewise in progress, in Asturias, in which he intended to endow seven chaplains to say perpetual masses for the souls of His Majesty and the Empress. All that he could do, therefore, was to borrow a portion of the money which he had already allotted to these charities, trusting that, small as it would be, the Emperor would accept it, and make provision for its restitution in due time.

His excuses.

Meanwhile, unfortunately for the prelate's case, six mules laden with silver were seen to arrive from the south at his palace at Valladolid. The Princess-Regent, therefore, directed Hernando de Ochoa, one

CH. VI.
1557.

His discussion with Ochoa

of the royal accountants, to proceed to St. Martin de la Fuente, and reason the Archbishop into compliance. The details of the interview are given in a letter from Ochoa to the Emperor.[1] Poverty was still the plea urged by the prelate, but in a style very different from the courtly tone of his letters to Yuste. How could he find so much money? Where was it to come from? He had never had 100,000 ducats in his possession at one time in his life, nor 80,000, nor 60,000; no, nor even 30,000. Might all the devils take him if he ever had! He would also swear it, if needful, on the Most Holy Sacrament. Nothing daunted, the cool accountant assured his lordship that he laboured under a mistake; taking his archbishopric at the admitted annual value of 60,000 ducats, he proceeded to anatomise the prelate's annual expenditure, and compare it with his revenue; and considering that it was notorious that his lordship never gave dinners or bought plate, he ended by advising him to offer as a compromise the sum of 150,000 ducats. But he also recommended him to return to court, and attend to the business at once, or else the Emperor would infallibly find some means of helping himself to the larger sum which he might fairly demand.

and its result.

[1] May 20th [28th. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tome ii. pp. 191–4.]

Reasoning of the same kind was also used by the Archbishop's brother, who was afterwards sent to him by the Princess. Last of all came a second letter from Yuste, in which the Emperor plainly told his "reverend father in Christ," that it was well known that his coffers had lately been replenished with as much silver as six mules could carry, and that he hoped therefore that he would pay quietly, as it would be very unpleasant to have to use stronger means of compulsion. The old fox, however, was a match for them all; he continued to fence for a week or two more; and he finally induced the Princess to accept of one-third of the sum named by her accountant, or 50,000 ducats, of which only one-half was to be paid down in ready money.

Agrees to lend 50,000 ducats.

Ruy Gomez de Silva was again at Yuste on the 14th May, and on the 15th July. On each occasion he had a long interview with the Emperor to report his progress in the King's affairs. In his last visit he was accompanied by Monsieur Ezcurra and Monsieur Burdeo, agents of the Duke of Vendôme; and the Emperor gave a patient hearing to their proposal that their master should cede his claims on Navarre on receiving the investiture of the duchy of Milan. It cannot be supposed that Charles ever dreamed of paying such a price for a province which was already his own, and which had been part of

Ruy Gomez de Silva's second visit to Yuste;

with agents of Anthony, King of Navarre.

CH. VI.
1557.

the dominions of his house for fifty years.[1] But it was of great importance to keep alive the hopes of the pretender, who, like a true Bourbon, was intriguing both with France and Spain, and capable of any treachery to either for the slightest gain to himself. In August, he was reported to have gone down to Rochelle to inspect the squadron which Henry II. was fitting out to attack the annual plate fleet, now on its homeward voyage to the Guadalquivir. It was thought necessary, therefore, to strengthen the forces of Alburquerque, and to use double vigilance in guarding the passes into Navarre; and it was now that the rumour arose of the Emperor's intention to take the command there in person. During the summer, a considerable body of troops had been embarked at Laredo, for Flanders. Ruy Gomez de Silva followed, probably about the end of July, taking with him a second detachment, and the money which he, the Regent, and the Emperor had succeeded in wringing from the poverty of the State and the avarice of the Church.

Death of John III. of Portugal.

The King of Portugal died at Lisbon, on the 11th June, and on the 15th the tidings reached Yuste.

[1] In one of the papers mentioned in chap. iv. p. 103, note, Charles, while he recorded his belief that Navarre had been justly conquered by his grandfather, nevertheless charged Philip carefully to consider whether it ought to be restored, or compensation allowed to any of the claimants —a clear proof that he himself did not intend to settle the matter. *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. 500.

CONVENT AND PALACE OF YUSTE.

John III. was a prince of but slender capacity, but the mantle of his father's good fortune remained with him for awhile; and his reign belongs to the golden age of Portugal, being illustrated with the great names of De Gama and Noronha, De Castro and Xavier. But disasters abroad and misfortune at home clouded the close of his career. The death of his only son, Don Juan, was closely followed by that of his brother, the gallant Don Luis, to whom the nation looked as natural guardian of the baby-heir. The King himself fell into premature decrepitude of both body and mind. The little Sebastian, his grandson, was sitting one day by his bedside, when something was brought to the King to drink. The child, asking for something too, began to cry, because the cup offered him had not a cover, like that which had been given to his grandfather,—a mark of early ambition which the old man took very much to heart, and ordered the boy out of the room for thus desiring to be treated like a king before his time.[1]

Jealousy of Portugal and Spain.

First cousin to Charles V., John was also brother of his Empress, husband of his sister, and father-in-law of two of his children. But, in spite of these intricately entwined ties, they were not on the most cordial terms; and the plans and policy of one court

[1] Menezes, *Chrónica*, p. 43.

CH. VI.
1557.

were studiously kept secret from the other. When secretary Gaztelu, therefore, wrote to the secretary of state to send a speedy and ample supply of the best and deepest mourning for the imperial household, he also required him to find out what had passed in the Portuguese Council of State, at a meeting where it was understood the late King had expressed a wish to abdicate, and to appoint the Princess of Brazil as guardian of her son and Regent of his kingdom. But in making these inquiries, he was to be especially careful that the Emperor's name was not connected with the affair. Don Fadrique Henriquez de Guzman, mayordomo of Don Carlos, was soon after despatched to Yuste, to be the bearer of the Emperor's condolences to his sister, the widowed Queen Catherine. He arrived, with the mourning for the household, on the 3rd July, was admitted to a long audience on the 4th, and at daybreak on the 5th set out for Lisbon. He was furnished with very minute instructions, and was specially charged to make no mention of the Princess of Brazil in his conversations with the Queen or the ministers. But while the Emperor wished to avoid all apparent interference, he was nevertheless very desirous that his daughter should be appointed to the Portuguese regency. The Princess herself was naturally most anxious to have the guardianship of her son and his interests; and it was perhaps with

Emperor condoles with his sister, Queen Catherine.

a view to Portugal that she so frequently implored her brother to relieve her from her duties in Spain. But weeks passed away without any certain intelligence, and although there were two Spanish envoys at Lisbon, the Princess determined to send a third, in the person of Father Francisco Borja. Neither Portugal nor the house of Avis, however, would submit to the rule of a sister of the King of Spain. The regency was therefore given to the Queen-Dowager, who closed her able administration with the brilliant defence of Mazagaon against the Moors. The reins then passed to the feebler hands of the Cardinal Henry, nor was Juana ever permitted to hold any share of power or even to embrace her son.

Princess of Brasil disappointed of the regency of Portugal.

For disappointments in Portugal the Emperor was consoled by glorious news from Flanders. Philip had landed there in July with 8,000 troops, entrusted to him by his fond Queen and her reluctant people. Emboldened by this accession of strength, and reinforced by the new levies from Spain, the Duke of Savoy was now able to carry on the war with greater vigour. He held Coligny blockaded in St. Quentin, a place of some strength on the steep bank of the Somme. The Constable de Montmorency, who commanded the main French army, was ordered by the King of France to throw some troops into the place. Permitting this movement to be effected with but little opposition, the Duke

Operations in Flanders.

Battle of St. Quentin.

CH. VI.
1557.

seized that opportunity of passing the river with his whole force. By a succession of skilful manœuvres, he succeeded in surprising Montmorency, and compelling him to give battle, when Count Egmont, at the head of 7,000 cavalry, obtained in one brilliant charge the most complete victory ever won by the lions and castles of Spain from the lilies of France. The army of the Constable suffered utter annihilation, while the loss of the Duke was said not to exceed 100 men. The Duke d'Enghien, Turenne, and other French leaders of note, were slain; and the Constable and four princes of the blood, the Rhinegrave, and a host of the French nobility, with cannon, munition, and countless banners, fell into the hands of the Spaniard.

Spanish victory.

10th August.

This great battle was fought on the 10th August. The first news was conveyed to the Emperor in a brief despatch from Vazquez, dated the 20th, and probably reached Yuste about the 23rd. A more detailed account, which was afterwards printed at Valladolid, soon arrived, brought or closely followed by a courier sent by the King from Flanders. The Emperor listened to the intelligence with the greatest interest, and ordered the messenger to be rewarded with a gold chain and a handsome sum of money.[1]

Joy occasioned by news at Yuste.

[1] Gonzalez says 150,000 *ducats*, which is probably a slip of the pen for *maravedis*. The Emperor is reported to have greatly disappointed the soldier who brought him the sword and gauntlets of Francis I. from

On the 7th September a solemn mass was celebrated in the conventual church in token of thanksgiving, and considerable alms were distributed from the imperial purse to the neighbouring poor. The Emperor was much disappointed to learn that his son had not been present in the field, and bestowed his malediction upon the English troops, for whom the King was reported to have been waiting in the rear. For some weeks he continued impatient for news, counting the days, as Quixada wrote, which must elapse before the King could be at the gates of Paris. The citizens of Paris, like the Emperor, also took it for granted that the Spaniards would march directly upon their capital, and many of the wealthier families fled southward into the heart of the kingdom. But the hopes of Yuste and the fears of the Louvre were equally foiled of their fulfilment; for Philip, ever timid and procrastinating, wasted the golden moments and the enthusiasm of his troops on the capture of a few insignificant fortresses in Picardy.

Dilatory policy of Philip II.

The triumph of the Duke of Savoy in the Netherlands had a signal effect upon the war in Italy. No sooner had Guise commenced offensive operations against the kingdom of Naples, than he discovered that no aid was to be expected from the Pope or his

Italy.

the field of Pavia, by giving him only one hundred gold crowns for his trouble. *Relatione* of Badovaro.

CH. VI.

1557.

nephews, and no reliance to be placed on their promises. They had already exasperated him by refusing him Ostia or Ancona, which he had wished to garrison, as a retreat for his troops in case of the failure of the enterprise. These robber-churchmen, indeed, treated their French knight-errant very much as Gines de Passamonte and his gang treated the good knight of La Mancha, after he had rescued them, at the expense of his bones, from the lash and the oar.[1] As Guise lay on the border-stream of Tronto, he was joined by little more than one-half of the Papal auxiliaries which had been promised him; and he had not advanced far into the enemy's territory before the insolence of the Roman leader, the Marquess of Montebello, compelled him to turn that Caraffa ignominiously out of his camp. With zeal thus cooled, and with forces quite inadequate to effect any permanent conquest for France, Guise therefore confined his operations to the capture of some paltry places in the Abruzzi, and to an unsuccessful siege of Civitella, from which he was driven with considerable loss both of men and time. Retreating towards Rome, he threatened to evacuate the ecclesiastical states, and join the Duke of Ferrara in an attack upon Parma and the Milanese. Alba in his turn now crossed the Tronto, marched into

Guise retreats from Neapolitan frontier.

Alba advances on Rome.

[1] *Don Quixote*, part i. cap. 22.

the Campagna, and took up a position within sight of Rome. The Pope and the Caraffas, no less cowardly than rash, humbled themselves before Guise, and sought to bribe him with fresh promises; and the war might have been again renewed but for the tidings of St. Quentin. Happily for art and its monuments, the panic of the King of France, the baseness of the King of Spain, and the supple treachery of Christ's vicar, saved Rome from a second sack. Guise and his army were instantly recalled: Alba was instructed that his master valued his great victory chiefly because it might restore him to the good graces of the Pope;[1] and the holy father himself made haste to sacrifice his friend, and conclude a close bargain with his foe. The terms obtained were no less disgraceful to Paul and to Philip than advantageous to the Roman see. The Pope was bound not to take part against Spain during the present war, and not to assist the Duke of Guise with provisions or protection. The King, on his side, engaged to restore all the places he had taken from the Pope, and raze the fortifications with which he had strengthened them; to do homage for the crown of Naples; and, while he claimed an amnesty for the Papal rebels, he permitted the pontiff to except

Shameful treaty between Philip II. and the Pope.

[1] J. V. Rustant, *Historia del Duque de Alba*, 2 tom. 4to, Madrid, 1751, ii. 59.

CH. VI.
1557.

from it Marc Antonio Colonna and the chief Roman magnates who had been the most active of Alba's allies, and whose fortunes were best worth the acceptance of the plundering Caraffas.[1]

Emperor's displeasure.

The Emperor had ever regarded Paul's policy with indignation, which had lately become mingled with scorn. He was for meeting his fury with calm firmness; and it was by his advice that the bulls of excommunication, which were frantically fulminated against his son, were forbidden to be published in the churches, and were declared contraband in the seaports of Spain. Had the King been a heretic, said Charles, he could not have been treated with greater rigour; the quarrel was none of his seeking; and in his endeavours to avoid it he had done all that was required of him before God and the world. Had the matter been left in the hands of the Emperor, Paul would have been dealt with in the stern fashion which brought Clement to his senses: Alba would have been directed to advance, Rome would have been stormed, the pontiff made prisoner; and the Primate of Spain and the Prior of Yuste would have been directed to put their altars into mourning, and say many masses for the speedy deliverance of the holy father of the faithful.

It is not very clear why Philip II. dealt thus gently

[1] J. V. Rustant, *Hist. del D. de Alba*, ii. 61.

with the foolish and wicked old man who was now at his mercy. Certain it is that no sentiment of generosity towards a fallen foe ever found place in that cold and selfish heart. His moderation may have been dictated by mere superstition, or it may have arisen from his secret desire to obtain, at some future time, the Pope's sanction for his scheme of dividing the great sees and abbeys of the Low Countries—a scheme which he afterwards executed at the cost of so much blood, treasure, and territory.

The Roman treaty was almost the sole affair of importance transacted during the Emperor's sojourn at Yuste, without his opinion having been first asked and his approval obtained. About the middle of October, he heard with some anxiety that Alba had concluded a treaty with the Pope, but the precise conditions being probably still unknown at Valladolid, did not then reach Yuste. Writing by his master's desire for fuller information, Quixada confided to the secretary of state that the Emperor was very much afraid that the terms obtained were bad, having generally observed that a treaty was sure to prove unfavourable when it was reported to be completed and yet the specification of the particular clauses withheld. The next instalment of news, that the French army had effected their retreat, only increased the misgivings of the Emperor. At length there came a detailed account of the negotia-

CH. VI.
1557.

tions, and a copy of the treaty, which the secretary of state said had given satisfaction both at Rome and Valladolid. At each paragraph that was read, the Emperor's anger grew fiercer; and before the paper had been gone through he would hear no more. He was laid up next day with an attack of gout, which the people about him ascribed to the vexation which he had suffered; and so deep an impression did the affair make upon his mind, that for weeks after he was frequently overheard muttering to himself, through his shattered teeth, broken sentences of displeasure.

Don Carlos.

One of the subjects which lay nearest the Emperor's heart was the education of his grandson, Don Carlos. The impression made upon him by the boy during his brief stay at Valladolid had been, as we have seen, unfavourable. The Prince's governor, Don Garcia de Toledo, was ordered to transmit to Yuste regular accounts of his pupil's progress. His letters, though few of them are in existence, were probably frequent, and they are so minute in their details of the Prince's health and habits, that there is no doubt but the Emperor took a lively interest in his grandson. Carlos is painted by his tutor as a sickly, sulky, and backward boy, certainly very unlikely to grow up the patriot hero into which the poet's license and the historian's paradox have turned him at a later period of his

Letters from his tutor to the Emperor.

DON CARLOS.

unhappy life. On the 30th July, Don Garcia complained to the Emperor that his pupil was lazy at his books, and constipated in his bowels. The King, he said, had ordered him down to Tordesillas, as a place better suited for study than the court; but he, for his part, thought that if they were to leave Valladolid at all, the Prince would be nowhere so well as at Yuste, under the eye of his grandfather.

A month later, on the 27th August, he wrote that Don Carlos was better in health, but so choleric in temper, that they were thinking of putting him under a course of physic for that disorder; but that they would wait until the Emperor's pleasure were known. He then described the Prince's mode of passing the day. Rising somewhat before seven, he prayed, breakfasted, and went to hear mass at half-past eight; after which came lessons until eleven, when he dined. A few hours were then given to amusement with his companions, with whom he played at *trucos* (a game somewhat like bowls) or quoits; at half-past three he partook of a light meal (*merienda*), which was followed by reading, and an hour of outdoor exercise, before or after supper, according to the weather. By half-past nine he had gone through the prayers of his rosary, and was in bed, where he soon fell fast asleep. The poor tutor was compelled still to acknowledge that he had failed to imbue him with the slightest love

CH. VI.
1557.

of learning, in which he consequently made but little progress; that he not only hated his books, but showed no inclination for cane-playing, or the still more necessary accomplishment of fencing; and that he was so careless and awkward on horseback, that they were afraid of letting him ride much, for fear of accidents. To the Emperor, who had loved and practised all manly sports with the ardour and the skill of a true Burgundian, it must have been a disappointment to learn that the prowess of Duke Charles and Kaiser Max, which had dwindled woefully in his son Philip, seemed altogether extinct in the next generation.

Venetian envoy's opinion of Don Carlos.

These notices of the character of the heir-apparent are confirmed by the account of him which the Venetian ambassador at the court of Bruxelles transmitted to his republic. He reported that Don Carlos was a youth of a haughty and turbulent temper, which his tutors vainly endeavoured to tame by making him read Cicero's treatise *De Officiis*; and that, upon being told that the Low Countries were settled upon the issue of his stepmother, Mary of England, he declared that he would maintain his right to those states in single combat with any son who might be born to his father in that marriage.[1]

[1] *Relatione* of Badovaro.

CHAPTER VII.

THE VISIT OF THE QUEENS.

Emperor's good health.

DURING the whole of the year 1557 the Emperor's health gave him but little annoyance, and cost Dr. Mathys but little trouble or anxiety. It seemed as if there were some truth in the saying, attributed by the monks to Torriano, and supposed to have been the result of his astrological researches, that the Vera was the most salubrious place in the world, and Yuste the most salubrious spot in the Vera.[1] In spite of generally eating too much, Charles slept well, and his gout made itself felt only in occasional twinges; so effectually did the senna wine counteract the syrup

[1] Siguença, iii. 200.

CH. VII.
1557.

of quinces which he drank at breakfast, the Rhine wine which washed down his midday meal, and the beer which, though denounced by the doctor, was the habitual beverage of the patient whenever he was thirsty. He had suffered, in September, a slight attack of dysentery from eating too much fruit. Towards the end of October, he was troubled by an inflammation in his left eye, and while waiting one day for a draught of senna wine, fell down in a fainting-fit, from which, however, he was soon recovered by a little vinegar sprinkled on his face, and suffered no subsequent ill effect. About the middle of December, he complained of feebleness, and of phlegm in his throat; and, for awhile, forewent wine and beer, and drank hippocras, a kind of spiced wine, mixed with hot water. With these exceptions, he was in very tolerable health; he was able to go out with his gun, though not always able to take a steady aim without help; he passed a good deal of time in the open air; and frequently went to confess and take the sacrament at the hermitage of Bethlehem—a dependency of the convent, and about a quarter of a mile off in the forest.

Famine and sickness in the Vera.

In the Vera, the year was very unhealthy, the spring having been marked by a famine, which extended over the greater part of Estremadura. So severe was the scarcity, that the Emperor's sumpter mules, laden with dainties, on their way to the

convent, were pillaged by the hungry peasants; and, in the Campo de Arañuelo, almost the whole population of several villages perished of starvation. In the autumn, severe colds and fevers prevailed at Yuste and Quacos; and William Van Male lost two children, and was in great apprehension for the life of his wife.

Emperor's garden.

The Emperor gave much of his leisure time and unemployed thought to his garden. He had ever been a lover of nature, and a cherisher of birds and flowers. In one of his campaigns, the story was told, that a swallow having built her nest and hatched her young upon his tent, he would not allow the tent to be struck when the army resumed its march, but left it standing for the sake of the mother and brood.[1] From Tunis he is said to have brought not only the best of his laurels, but the pretty flower called the Indian pink, sending it from the African shore to his gardens in Spain, whence, in time, it won its way into every cottage garden in Europe.[2] Yuste was a very paradise for these simple tastes and harmless pleasures. The Emperor

Fondness for birds.

[1] Vieyra, *Sermoens*, vol. xv. p. 195. Quoted in Southey's *Commonplace Book*, i. p. 408.

[1] Renè Rapin, in his *Hortorum libri quatuor*, 4to, Paris, 1665, lib. i. v. 952–4, thus celebrates the event:—

"Hunc primus, pœno quondam de litore florem,
Dum premeret victor dura obsidione Tunetum;
Carolus Austriades terræ transmisit Iberæ."

CH. VII.

1557.

spent part of the summer in embellishing the ground immediately below his windows; he raised a terrace, on which he placed a fountain and laid out a parterre; and beneath it he formed a second parterre, planted like the first, with flowers and orange-trees. Under his supervision, Torriano constructed a sundial, which became an appropriate ornament of the garden.[1] Amongst his poultry were some Indian fowls, sent him by the Bishop of Plasencia. Of two fish-ponds which he caused to be formed with the water of the adjacent brook, he stored one with trout, and the other with tench. It was evidently his wish to make himself comfortable in the retreat where he had a reasonable prospect of passing many years. In the autumn, he sent for an additional gamekeeper to kill game for his table; and in winter, for a new stove for his apartments; and he also received from Flanders a large box of tapestry, amongst which was a set of hangings wrought with scenes from his campaigns at Tunis, which still exist in the Queen of Spain's palace at Madrid. He also contemplated an addition to his little palace, and he had made several drawings with his own hands of an intended oratory, and a new wing for the accommodation of the King, his son, who was to visit him as soon as public affairs permitted him to return to

His poultry and fish-ponds.

His care for domestic comforts.

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Retraite de Charles V.*, p. 23.

Spain. The plans never proceeded farther than the paper stage; nor was Philip's visit to Yuste paid until the Emperor's own rooms were vacant.

Quixada obtains leave of absence.

During the spring, Luis Quixada's home-sick heart was gladdened by leave of absence, a favour accorded of the Emperor's own free will, and unasked, as the honest chamberlain was careful to observe in his next letter to the secretary of state. He would have been very glad, he added, if he were not coming back any more, to eat asparagus and truffles in Estremadura.[1] He set out on the 3rd April, and the impatient English courier who had come the day before with his complaints of Castilian dilatoriness,[2] was probably his companion as he rode through the wild glens and over the sweet flowery wastes to Valladolid. To the Princess-Regent and the Queen he carried letters, written in the Emperor's own hand, which showed how implicitly the old soldier was trusted, and how he was treated almost like one of the family. The letter to the Regent briefly referred her to the bearer for an account of her father's way of life, and his views on financial matters, and on the proper mode of dealing with the Sevillian rogues who preferred keeping their money to giving it to the state; while in the letter

[1] "Bien me alegrára, no volver á Estremadura á comer esparragos y turmos de tierra." To Juan Vazquez, March 28, 1557.

[2] Supra, chap. vi. p. 186.

CH. VII.
1557.

to the Queen of France, the royal matron was advised by her brother to take counsel with the mayordomo in the affair of the meeting with her daughter, the impracticable Infanta of Portugal.

At court or at his house at Villagarcia, Quixada remained until August, when the Emperor, who missed him more each day, sent for him back. In the absence of the chief of his household, he seems to have fallen in some degree into the hands of the friars, and by that circumstance to have partially lost his prepossession in favour of the Jeronymite robe. "The friars," writes Gaztelu, in undisguised glee, "do not understand His Majesty; and now at last he has found out, I think, his mistake in supposing that they are fit to be employed in his service in any way whatever." It was high time, therefore, that Quixada should resume the command, and drive the monks back over the frontier. He arrived at Yuste on the 21st August, having ridden post to Medina del Campo, and thence on what he called beasts of the country. The Emperor was very glad to see him; and he was also glad to find the Emperor very well, paler perhaps, but fatter than when he took his leave. Rumours had reached Valladolid, probably in consequence of the alarm raised in Navarre, that Charles intended to leave the convent, but the chamberlain now assured the secretary that they were unfounded. "His Majesty,"

Friars become unruly.

Quixada's return.

CH. VII. 1557.

he wrote, "is the most contented man in the world, and the quietest, and the least desirous of moving in any direction whatsoever, as he tells us himself."[1] After thirty-five years of service, and being by the death of his brother the last of his house, Quixada had much wished to be relieved of his official duties, and settle at home. But the Emperor having so urged him to remain that it was impossible to refuse, he had now resolved, he said, to move his wife and household into Estremadura, in spite of the expense and inconvenience to which it must put him, and his great dislike to the country. The letter in which this determination was conveyed to Vazquez ended, as usual, with the date, "In Yuste," to which the writer in this case added the words, "evil be to him who built it here; 30th August 1557."[2]

Quixada's dislike to Yuste.

During the summer, in Fray Juan de Ortega[3] the convent lost one of its best inmates, and the Emperor and his household their favourite amongst the friars. Having been ailing for some time, he obtained leave, at the end of May, to retire to his own convent at Alba de Tormes. On the 24th

Death of Fray Juan de Ortega.

[1] "Esta el hombre el mas contento del mundo, y con mas reposo y con menor gana para salir para ninguna parte y ansi lo dice."

[2] "En Yuste: mal haya quien aquí lo edificó; á los 30 de Augusto, 1557."

[3] Supra, chap. iii. p. 88; chap. v. p. 154.

CH. VII. 1557.

August, the whole community of Yuste were saddened by the news of his death. Finding himself no better, and getting weary of his doctor, he put himself into the hands of a gatherer of simples, the quack of the district, who very speedily relieved him from his sufferings, and from further need of physic. Ortega is one of those men of whose life the remaining fragments make us wish for more. As general, having suffered a vote of censure for attempting to reform the order, the decree of the chapter had likewise declared him and his associates incapable of afterwards bearing any rule within the domain of St. Jerome. The Emperor must have approved of his policy, or at least must have considered him unjustly treated, for he almost immediately afterwards offered him a mitre in the Indies. But Ortega declined the honour, saying that the friar whom his superiors had pronounced unfit to hold a priory, must be unfit to preside over a diocese, and that he considered it to be his duty to submit, as a private monk, to the penance imposed upon him. In 1553, while he was still general, there issued from an Antwerp press the charming story of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, destined to be a model of racy Castilian, and to found a new school of literature. Leaving the courts and the castles, the peers and paladins of conventional romance, the witty novelist had taken for his hero

Lazarillo de Tormes.

a little dirty urchin of Salamanca, and sent him forth to delight Europe with his exquisite humour, keen satire, and vivid pictures of Spanish life, and to win a popularity which was not equalled until the great knight of La Mancha took the field. The authorship, however, remained unacknowledged and unknown; and it was not until after the death of Diego Hurtado de Mendoza that it came to be generally ascribed to that accomplished statesman, soldier, and historian. But at the decease of Ortega there was found in his cell a manuscript of the work, from which the fathers of Alba conjectured that it must have been written in his college-days at Salamanca.[1] Whether the glory belong to the layman or the churchman, the monk who was capable of so chivalrously refusing a mitre, and who was supposed to be capable of writing the first and one of the best of modern fictions, must have been a man of noble character, and of remarkable powers.

Question as to its authorship.

[1] The story is told by Siguença, ii. p. 184. N. Antonio includes *Lazarillo* among the works of Mendoza, but he says that some people still ascribed it to Ortega. Mr. Ticknor, in his excellent and discerning criticism on Mendoza (*History of Spanish Literature*, 3 vols. 8vo, New York, 1849, i. 513), raises no doubt as to the authorship, without, however, stating on what, besides internal evidence, Mendoza's claim rests. The first edition was printed at Antwerp, 1553; another appeared at Burgos, in 1554; and a third at Antwerp, in the same year; yet the first mentioned by Antonio is that of Tarragona, 1586; so ignorant was the laborious bibliographer of Spain—being also a churchman—of one of the most curious and valuable portions of her literature, the novels.

CH. VII.

1557.

Turbulent peasants of Quacos.

The ignorance and gossiping of the friars were not the sole local annoyances suffered by the Emperor and his household. The villagers of Quacos were the unruly Protestants who troubled his reign in the Vera. Although these rustics shared amongst them the greater part of the hundred ducats which he dispensed every month in charity, they teased him by constant acts of petty aggression, by impounding his cows, poaching his fish-ponds, and stealing his fruit. One fellow having sold the crop on a cherry tree to the Emperor's purveyor at double its value, and for ready money, when he found that it was left ungathered, resold it to a fresh purchaser, who of course left nothing but bare boughs behind him. Weary of this persecution, Charles at last sent for Don Juan de Vega, President of Castile, who arrived on the 25th August at Luis Quixada's house, in the guilty village. Next morning he had an interview of an hour and a half with the Emperor; and spent the day following in concerting measures with the licentiate Murga, the rural judge, to whom he administered a sharp rebuke, which that functionary in his turn visited upon the unruly rustics. The President returned to Valladolid on the 28th; and a few days afterwards several culprits were apprehended. But whilst Castilian justice was taking its usual deliberate course, some of them who had relatives amongst the Jeronymites of Yuste,

by the influence of their friends at court wrought upon the Emperor's good-nature so far, that he himself begged that the sentence might be light.[1]

Juan Gines Sepulveda visits Yuste.

Of the unofficial visitors who paid their respects during this year at Yuste, one of the earliest and certainly the most remarkable was Juan Gines Sepulveda, the historian, whose flowing style and pure Latinity gained him the title of the Livy of Spain. This able writer had formerly held the posts of chaplain to the Emperor, and tutor to Prince Philip; and was now one of the historiographers-royal, in which capacity he had retired to his estate at Pozoblanco, near Cordova, to compose his annals of the Emperor's reign, and cultivate his flower-garden. Amongst other pieces of sinecure Church preferment which had fallen to his lot, was the arch-priesthood of Ledesma, to which he had been recently presented. The fine weather early in March had tempted him to set out for this new benefice; but being overtaken in the mountains of Guadalupe by storms, which even the tempest-stilling bells of Our Lady's Holy Church[2] could not calm, he was glad to turn aside to the Vera to pay his homage to the Emperor, and to visit his old friend Van Male. Charles, who had not seen him for eighteen years,

[1] Siguença, iii. 198.
[2] Talavera, *Hist. de Na. Seña. de Guadalupe*, fol. 16.

CH. VII.
1557.

received him with great cordiality, and conversed with him with much interest on the progress of his history.[1] The learned traveller was highly delighted with his patron's kindness, the beauty of the place, and his few days of repose in Van Male's house at Quacos. He had taken the mountain road by which Charles had come to Yuste. The first part of his journey, although toilsome, was ease itself to what was now before him. Crossing the Puertonuevo in a storm would try the nerve and task the endurance of a smuggler in his prime; and it is therefore not surprising that it nearly killed the sedentary doctor of sixty-seven. The ascent, he said, was like the path of virtue, as described by Hesiod, inasmuch as it was long, and steep, and rugged; but very unlike it, inasmuch as it led, not to an easy plain, but to a yet more frightful descent.[2] He had ridden up; but the rocks which now frowned over his head, and the chasms which yawned at every turn beneath him, so terrified him that he dismounted from his mule, and walked eight miles in the mud, through alternate rain and snow. He arrived at Alba more dead than alive; and in spite of good nursing in the house of a

[1] See Mignet, *Charles Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au Monastère de Yuste*, 8vo, Paris, 1854, p. 284, for some curious references to Sepulveda as to Charles's regard for truth in things to be written about himself.

[2] *The Works and the Days*, v. 288.

CH. VII. 1557.

warm canon of Salamanca, the month of June found him in his parsonage at Ledesma, still complaining of the cold which he had caught in that wild mountain march.[1]

Don Luis de Avila.

Don Luis de Avila was a frequent visitor at Yuste. Charles had always been fond of the society of his lively Quintus Curtius; and the historian regarded the Emperor with that enthusiastic admiration with which a great man seldom fails to inspire his followers. The lords of Mirabel religiously preserve an heirloom brought into the Zuñiga family by Avila —a marble bust of his favourite hero, chiselled by the masterly hand of the elder Leoni, and inscribed with this loyal doggerel—

> "Carolo quinto et è assai questo,
> Perche si sa per tutto il mondo il resto."

His house at Plasencia and its frescoes.

Avila likewise caused some of the battles of the imperial captain to be painted in fresco on various ceilings of the noble mansion, and they were now actually in progress under his own superintendence. The name of the artist has not survived, and his work, long since faded, has proved the truth of the adage which the old Marquess of Mirabel had shortly

[1] He calls it "iter totius Hispaniæ difficillimum;" describing it in the letter to Van Male, in his *Epistolæ*, sm. 8vo, Salamant. 1557, ep. cii. fol. 274, or *Opera*, 4to, Madrid, 1780, iii. p. 351. *Opera*, 4to, Colon Agr. 1602, *Epist.* 99, pp. 278-81. The letter is dated Ledesma Cal. Junii, 1557.

CH. VII.

1557.

His opinion of the Emperor in his commentaries.

before written over one of the windows—*todo pasa*—all things pass away.[1]

There is a heartiness in Avila's flattery which says much for its honesty and somewhat excuses its extravagance. The bold dragoon concludes his German commentaries with this blast of the true Castilian trumpet: "When Cæsar had subdued Gaul, after a ten years' war, he made the whole world ring with his story; and only to have crossed the Rhine and passed eighteen days in Germany seemed enough to vindicate the power and dignity of the nation which ruled the world. In less than a year our Emperor conquered this province, whose matchless valour has been confessed both by ancient and modern times. In thirty years Charlemagne subjugated Saxony; our Emperor was master of it all in less than three months. The greatness of this war demands a nobler pen than mine, which tells nothing but the naked truth, and what I have seen with my own eyes of the exploits of him who ought as far to excel in fame the great captains of past ages as he excels them all in valour and in virtue."[2]

The adulation of Bishop Giovio was as distasteful to Charles as the Protestant abuse of Sleidan; and

---

[1] A. Ponz, *Viage en España*, 18 vols. sm. 8vo, Madrid, 1784, vii. pp. 117, 118, 122.

[2] Avila, *Comentario de la Guerra de Alemaña*, sm. 8vo, Anvers, 1549, p. 180.

Emperor's partiality for him.

he was wont to call them his two liars. But Avila's volume, bound in crimson velvet and silver, adorned his book-shelf, and the door of his cabinet was ever open to the author. It is characteristic of the times, that it was remarked as a singular favour that the Emperor one day ordered a capon to be reserved for the Grand Commander of Alcántara from his own well-supplied board.[1] It may seem strange that a retired prince, who had never been a lover of pomp, should not have broken through the ceremonial law which enjoined a monarch to eat alone, and which, when on the throne, he had broken through once, though once only, in favour of the Duke of Alba.[2] But it must be remembered that he was a Spaniard, living among Spaniards, with whom punctilio was a kind of piety; and that near a century later the force of forms was still so strong, that Richelieu himself, when most wanting in ships, preferred that the Spanish fleet should retire from the blockade of Rochelle, rather than that its admiral should wear his grandee hat in the Most Christian presence.

The Emperor was fond of talking over his campaigns with the veteran who had shared and recorded them. One day, in the course of such conversation, Don Luis spoke of the frescoes which

[1] Vera, *Vida de Carlos V.*, p. 251.
[2] Rustant, *Vida del D. de Alba*, i. p. 182.

CH. VII.

1557.

Fresco of battle of Renti.

Remark of the Emperor on it.

were in progress in his house at Plasencia, and said that on one of the ceilings was to be painted the battle of Renti, and the Frenchmen flying before the soldiers of Castile. "Not so," said the Emperor, "let the painter modify this if he can, for it was no headlong flight, but an orderly retreat."[1] This was not the less candid because French historians claimed the victory for France, and recounted with pride the captured colours and cannon, amongst which were the two huge pieces known as the Emperor's pistols.[2] Considering that the action had been fought only three or four years before it is reported to have been thus grossly misrepresented, it is possible that Renti may have been substituted by mistake for the name of some less doubtful field. But Avila was of easy faith when the honour of Castile and the Emperor were concerned; and he may well be supposed capable of some such loyal and patriotic inaccuracy in fresco, when he did not hesitate to print his belief that the miracle which had been wrought for Joshua and the chosen people in the valley of Ajalon, had been repeated on behalf of Charles and his Spaniards on the banks of the Elbe.[3] Some years after, the Duke of Alba, who had also been at Muhlberg, was asked by the King

[1] Vera, *Vida de Carlos V.*, p. 252.
[2] L. Favyn, *Hist. de Navarre*, fol., Paris, 1612, p. 814.
[3] Avila, *Comentario*, fol. 70.

of France whether he too had observed the sun standing still. "I was so busy that day," said the cautious soldier, "with what was passing on earth, that I had no time to notice what took place in heaven."

Report of Emperor's removal to Navarre.

A visit which Avila paid to the convent in August, seems to have been prompted by an official letter addressed by the Princess-Regent to the authorities of Plasencia, and containing, or supposed to contain, a hint that the Emperor proposed soon to set out for Navarre. The city being greatly excited by the rumours thus raised, the Grand Commander mounted his horse and rode up the Vera to make inquiries into the state of matters at Yuste. The recluse was disposed rather to pique than to gratify the curiosity of the knight of the green cross. Writing on his return to the secretary of state, Avila said, "I have left Fray Carlos in a very calm and contented mood, not at all mistrusting his strength, but believing himself quite equal to the exertion of moving from his retreat. Since I was there last, all his ideas on this head may have changed; and I could believe his undertaking anything from love to his son, knowing as I do his brave spirit and his ancient habits, having been reared, as he was, in war, like the salamander in the furnace. The Princess's letter has set us all on the tiptoe of expectation here, and I do not think

CH. VII. 1557.

that there is a man among us who would stay behind if the Emperor took the field. But if this *bravata*, as they say in Italy, is really to be executed, I pray God it may be done speedily, for the weather looks threatening, and Navarre, with its early winter, is not Estremadura." [1]

Don Francisco Bolivar.

Amongst other visitors at Yuste was Don Francisco Bolivar, paymaster of the navy, who came on the 16th September and had a long audience next day, to lay before the Emperor certain information about the Turkish naval force, and to tell him that the fleet of Solyman which had been menacing the western shores of the Mediterranean, had now steered for the Levant. For this good news Charles presented him, when he took leave, with a gold chain. A few weeks later, on the 6th October,

Don Martin de Avendaño.

Don Martin de Avendaño, who had commanded a squadron newly arrived from Peru, was received with a welcome so hearty, that Quixada noted it in writing to the secretary Eraso. In taking leave, the admiral was also furnished with a strong letter of recommendation to the King. Perhaps the excellent health which the Emperor at that time enjoyed might have been partly the cause of this cordiality, for the chamberlain said, in the

[1] Luis de Avila to Vazquez; Plasencia, 24th August 1557. Gonzalez MS. [13th August. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. ii. pp. 225-7].

same letter, that he was unusually well, "very plump and fresh-coloured, and ate and slept better than he did himself." He added that His Majesty had been pleased to rally him on a message, conveyed to him by Eraso from his little daughter Mariquita, that she would like to marry his son, had there been an heir in the family of Quixada.[1]

Message to Quixada from Mariquita de Eraso.

The visitors at Yuste were generally envoys, or official personages. Avila and the Count of Oropesa and his brother, were amongst the few exceptions. The neighbouring prelates and grandees continued to send their contributions to the imperial larder. By Oropesa it was supplied with game from the forest and the hill; the Jeronymites of Guadalupe, rich in lands and beeves, presented calves, lambs fattened on bread, and delicate fruits; and the Bishops of Segovia, Mondoñedo, and Salamanca were careful to put in similar evidence that they had not forgotten the giver of their mitres. The prior of Guadalupe also sent one of his monks, who was a tailor by trade, to make the Emperor a robe and gloves of fur, forbidding him to accept of any reward for his service.[2] These civilities were not, however, always done without an eye to the loaves and fishes of court patronage and favour. A few leagues north

Presents to Emperor's larder from churchmen.

[1] Quixada to Francisco de Eraso, 6th Oct. 1557 [7th October. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. i. p. 184].

[2] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 42.

JUAN GINES DE SEPULVEDA.

health, and unable to bear the motion of her litter, visited Yuste only three times. On one of these occasions, she and her sister came over in the morning to Quacos, and having dined there, spent some hours at the convent, and returned to the village to sleep. Quixada was somewhat scandalised at this arrangement, and proposed an attempt to lodge the royal ladies for one night at Yuste; but Charles would not hear of it, nor would he even offer them a dinner. Still robust enough for the saddle, the Queen of Hungary delighted in the exercise of her limbs and tongue. She therefore was frequently on horseback, riding through the fading forest to her brother's inhospitable gate.

The Queens look out for permanent abode.

The Queens had not yet determined where to establish their permanent abode, and wished to be guided by the Emperor's advice. They had at one time thought of Plasencia, but upon this he put his decided negative. They next cast their eyes upon Guadalaxara, in Castile; the crown having a great extent of land in and around that town, the rights and privileges of which the King was willing to make over to them for their lives. The town boasting of no mansion suitable to their rank but the palace of the Duke of Infantado, they applied for the use of that truly noble pile. But the Duke, who had never been very cordial with the Austrian royal family, excused giving up his house on the plea of

Guadalaxara.

Correspondence with Duke of Infantado.

CH. VII.
1557.

ill-health; and in spite of the Regent's representations that what had been given to the grand cardinal Mendoza by Isabella the Catholic, ought to be lent for a time to her grand-daughters, he continued to urge this plea in a number of letters, equally courtly, copious, and tiresome. At the close of the year, Quixada, writing to his friend the secretary Eraso, hinted to that functionary that as the Queens still thought of residing at Guadalaxara, it would be well for him to place at their disposition a grange which he possessed in the neighbourhood, where they might amuse themselves in fishing or in the chase. Both of the royal widows, however, died before it was settled where they were to live.

Infanta Mary of Portugal.

Their chief business at Yuste, at this time, was the long-talked-of meeting between Queen Eleanor and the Infanta of Portugal. To see this daughter once more, was the sole wish of the poor mother's heart. The daughter, on the other hand, seemed hardly less anxious to avoid the interview. Long after the King of Portugal had given his consent, and even after his death, she continued to raise up obstacles in the way, in which she was countenanced by her uncle, the Cardinal Henry. Father Francis Borja used his influence in vain. The Spanish ambassador at Lisbon, Don Sancho de Cordova, who met the Queens at Xarandilla and Yuste, gave so unfavourable an account of her intentions, that

Eleanor began to despair altogether of realising her long-cherished hope. The Emperor, at her request, himself wrote to his niece, urging compliance with her mother's very reasonable wishes; and, after many delays and a sham illness, the reluctant damsel consented. Preparations were immediately set on foot for receiving her at Badajoz with due honour, and sixteen nobles and prelates were chosen to wait upon her at the frontier. Among them were the Duke of Escalona, the Count of Oropesa, the Grand Commander of Alcántara, and the Bishops of Coria and Salamanca.

Jealousy between Portugal and Spain.

Many of the difficulties for which the Infanta was made responsible, no doubt, really arose from the ill-feeling which at this time prevailed between the courts of Lisbon and Valladolid. While these negotiations were pending, a Portuguese courier was arrested on suspicion of being a French spy, and on his person was found an autograph letter from the King of France, in which the Queen-Regent was informed of the state of the war in the Netherlands, and entreated to lend her assistance against Spain. This letter was forwarded to Yuste by secretary Vazquez, with a remark that it was better to trust even Frenchmen than some Portuguese. The Emperor, on the other hand, told Quixada that he thought the letter might have been written for the purpose of being intercepted, and of exciting sus-

CH. VII. 1557.

picion and discord, and that the boasting of a Frenchman ought never to be taken seriously. But he clearly indicated his own belief in the ill-will entertained at Lisbon towards his son's government, when he conveyed to Vazquez the official information which he had received from thence of a revolt in Peru, and the death of the Viceroy, the Marquess of Cañete. "Although I well know," he wrote, "that the court of Portugal would not have sent me this news had it been true, I should wish to ascertain the ground whereon such a rumour rests."[1]

Queens go to Badajoz, 15th Dec.

The Queens took leave of the Emperor on the 14th December, and the next day set out for Badajoz. Their departure was a great relief to Luis Quixada, who had to attend to their comforts at Xarandilla, in addition to his daily task of governing the Emperor's Flemings, and keeping on good terms with his friars. The supplies required by their numerous retinue had also produced a sort of famine in the Vera, and had raised the price of mutton to a real, or 2½d., a pound. The licentiate Murga, of Quacos, was entrusted with the arrangements on the road, and the queens were everywhere received with public attention and respect. At Truxillo the authorities wished to give a public festival in their honour, which, however,

[1] Emperor to Vazquez, 22nd Sept. 1557. Gonzalez MS.

CH. VII. 1557.

the royal ladies graciously declined; and resting on the feast of St. Thomas, at Merida, they arrived on Christmas eve at Badajoz, where Don Luis de Avila was waiting to receive them.[1]

Hurricane at Yuste.

They were fortunate in the weather, which was clear and calm, except on the day which they spent in the old Roman city. But, on the day after they left Xarandilla, a terrible hurricane visited that part of the Vera. At Yuste, two of the Emperor's chimneys were blown down, and one took fire; and many of his cedars and citrons measured their length upon the discomfited parterres. Two houses fell at Xarandilla, and another was overthrown at Quacos.

Fr. Fran. Borja sent by Princess-Regent to Lisbon.

Father Borja had been selected by the Princess-Regent for a special and secret mission to Lisbon in the autumn, on the delicate subject of the regency of Portugal. He received her summons at Simancas, where he had founded a small Jesuits' house, and whither he loved to escape from the distractions of the court, to unstinted penance and prayer. The sun of September was scorching the naked plains of

[1] Fr. Miguel Pacheco, *Vida de Da. Maria*, p. 80, says that the Queens were kept waiting at Badajoz for two months, and that Queen Mary was so weary of waiting that she wanted her sister to give up the meeting and return to Costilla. This can hardly be true, if the Gonzalez MS. and its letters are to be relied on, which state that the Infanta reached Elvas early in January. The Queens were received at Badajoz by two ladies, Manuel, who had been ladies of honour to Queen Isabella, and whose husbands were wealthy nobles of the province.

CH. VII.
1557.

the Duero, and the good Jesuit was in feeble health. Nevertheless, he immediately obeyed the Regent's mandate, and repaired to Yuste, by her direction, to hold counsel with the Emperor;[1] after which, scorning repose in the cool woodlands, he at once took the road to Portugal across the charred wastes of Estremadura. This haste and the heat threw him into a fever, of which he nearly died in the town of Evora; and when once more able to resume his journey, he was nearly drowned in a squall in crossing the Tagus to Lisbon. The Queen Catherine, the Cardinal Henry, and the Infanta Mary, all vied with each other in nursing him; but he did not succeed in the objects of his mission, for he obtained no promise of the regency for the Spanish princess; nor could he even prevail upon the Portuguese infanta to perform the very simple duty of setting out to meet her widowed mother. He was again at Yuste about the 20th December. The Emperor paid him the unusual compliment of lodging him in the palace, and even entered into the preparation which

Returns by way of Yuste.

[1] Ribadeneira, *Vida de P. F. Borja*, fol. 105. Gonzalez is inclined to doubt the fact; yet his MS. contains a letter (30th August 1557) from the Princess to the Emperor, in which she announces her intention of sending Borja to Lisbon; and one from Gaztelu to Vazquez (28th December 1557), which proves that he had been there. As it is extremely probable that the Jesuit would have been instructed to see the Emperor on his way to Portugal, and as there are several gaps in the correspondence in September, I am inclined to suppose that some letters may have been lost, and I have therefore followed Ribadeneira.

Luis Quixada was making for his reception. The mayordomo having hung the walls of his chamber with tapestry, the Emperor, judging that it would rather offend than please the Jesuit, ordered it to be taken down, and its place to be supplied with some black cloth, of which he despoiled his own anteroom.[1]

Emperor's confidence in him.

Borja remained at the convent for some days, and of course had frequent interviews with the Emperor. It was probably now that Charles returned to him a number of letters, written at his request by the Jesuit, on the politics and politicians of the court of Valladolid. "You may be sure," said he, on restoring them, "that no one but myself has seen them." The confidence thus reposed by the shrewdest of princes in Borja's judgment and observation, shows how keenly the things of earth may be scanned by eyes which seem wholly fixed upon heaven.[2]

Dispute between Borja's son and the Admiral of Aragon.

The Emperor likewise told his friend of a dispute, between two nobles, which had been referred to him for decision, and on which he desired to have his opinion, as he probably knew the rights of the case. The matter in dispute was the title to certain lands; and the parties were Borja's son, Charles, Duke of Gandia, and Don Alonso de Cardona, Admiral of

[1] Nieremberg, *Vida de Borja*, p. 136. This story is somewhat doubtful, not because it is in itself improbable, but because, if true, it would probably have been mentioned in the letters of Quixada to Vazquez.

[2] Sandoval, ii. p. 833.

Aragon. Thus appealed to, the father behaved with that stoical indifference to the voice of blood, which, while it shocked some of his lay admirers, never fails to command the loud applause of his reverend biographers. "I know not," he said, "whose cause is the just one, but I pray your Majesty not only not to allow the Admiral to be wronged, but to show him all the favour compatible with equity." When the Emperor expressed some not unnatural surprise, the Cato of the company explained the singular tone of his request, somewhat lamely as it seems, by saying that perhaps the Admiral needed the disputed property more than the Duke did, and that it was good to assist the necessitous.[1]

Borja's judgment.

During his stay at Yuste, Borja was treated with marked distinction. Not only had his host arranged the upholstery of his chamber, but he also sent him each day the most approved dish from his well-supplied board. When duty once more required the father to take his staff in his hand, he carried with him 200 ducats for alms, which Quixada had been directed by the Emperor to force upon his acceptance. "It is a small sum," said the chamberlain, "but in comparison with my lord's present revenues, it is perhaps the largest bounty he ever bestowed at one time."[2]

Alms given to Borja on leaving.

[1] Nieremberg, *Vida de Borja*, p. 155.
[2] Ribadeneira, *Vida de Borja*, p. 99.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE DEATH OF QUEEN ELEANOR.

Emperor's health declines.

THE year 1558 did not open auspiciously at Yuste. The Emperor continued to be troubled with flying gout; he complained of itching and tingling in his legs, from the knees downwards; and he was sometimes seized with fits of vomiting. On the 7th January he was unable to leave his bed, or to see the Admiral of Aragon, who had come to state certain grievances which he had against the master of Montesa, and who was therefore dismissed to spend a few days in the pilgrimage to Guadalupe. The season itself was unhealthy, and so many members of the household were ill that Gaztelu proposed to reinforce the medical staff with another doctor, one Juan Muñoz,

CH. VIII.
1558.

a good physician and surgeon, who had been sent by the Regent to attend upon her father at Laredo.

Burglary at Yuste.

On the night of the 8th January the palace was broken into, and a sum of 800 ducats, set apart for charitable uses, stolen from a box in the Emperor's wardrobe. The licentiate Murga was immediately set to discover the robbers, but his perquisitions attained no satisfactory end. It was evident that the household was not free from blame, but the Emperor would not permit the persons suspected to be subjected to the torture, the usual mode of compelling evidence in those days, "fearing," said Gaztelu, mysteriously, "that certain things might come out which had better remain concealed."[1] The culprits were never detected, nor was the cash recovered. It is somewhat remarkable that a few weeks afterwards the Emperor divided 2,000 ducats, as a largesse, among his attendants, each receiving a sum proportioned according to the amount of his salary.

Dispute with corregidor of Plasencia.

While plagued by the depredations of thieves, the Emperor was also teased by the contentions of thief-takers. The corregidor of Plasencia came over to Quacos and arrested one Villa, an alguazil under Murga, on pretence that he had exceeded his powers

[1] "Pues no se permite à Murga que ponga à question de tormento à los que se sospecha que podrian tener culpa, en lo que han pasado cosas que es mejor callarlas." Gaztelu to Vazquez, 17th January 1558.

by exercising his office within the city jurisdiction, which, as the Plasencian affirmed, extended to the limits of the village. Charles was much displeased, and caused a complaint to be lodged at Valladolid, the result of which was that the corregidor was suspended from his functions, and the jurisdiction of Quacos enlarged by a fresh official act. The offender, however, was forgiven, and reinstated in a few weeks.

Don John de Acuña.

On the 10th January the Emperor, though still in bed, gave audience to Don Juan de Acuña, who had recently come from Flanders; and the same day a rumour was brought by the Count of Oropesa that the Duke of Alba had lately arrived at Bruxelles, and proposed resigning the viceroyalty of Naples, and the command of the army in Italy. At this rumour Charles displayed more displeasure than Quixada thought good for his health; and he refused to listen to the despatches from court relating to the Italian affairs until some days after they had arrived. When at last he permitted them to be read, and heard the secret articles of the treaty with the Pope, he only remarked that the reserved conditions were as bad as those which had been made public.

Philip's treaty with the Pope.

Emperor's dissatisfaction with it.

Disgraceful as the treaty was, the anger felt by the Emperor may perhaps have arisen partly because the negotiations had been conducted without his knowledge or consent. Philip's love of temporising

CH. VIII. 1558.

was notorious; "Time and I against two,"[1] was his favourite adage; and he often bought time at the price of golden opportunity. When the victory of St. Quentin had compelled the recall of Guise, Rome was so completely in the power of Alba, that there was no visible motive for hastening the Pope's deliverance. Had the King wished to consult his father, an armistice of a few weeks would have given sufficient time for communication between Bruxelles and Yuste. It is therefore most probable that Philip, making, for reasons which he did not wish to explain, a peace which he felt the Emperor must disapprove, purposely withheld from him any knowledge of the treaty until it was actually signed and sealed. It is certain that great and unaccountable delay took place in laying before him some of the subsequent transactions in Italy. Thus, although a rumour of Alba's departure had reached Yuste on the 10th January, it was not until the 27th that a letter, addressed to the Emperor by Alba himself, and dated so far back as the 23rd September 1557, reached Yuste by the hands of Luis de Avila. This letter announced that peace had been concluded, and described the state of matters at Rome; and further said that as the King's affairs were now in a prosperous condition, the Duke intended soon to

Duke of Alba and his share in the business.

[1] "Tiempo y yo para otros dos."

avail himself of His Majesty's promise that his term of service in Italy should be short, and to embark for Lombardy; after which he trusted ere long to kiss the Emperor's hand, and ask for some repose from his fatigues of twenty-five years. To this letter Charles deigned no answer, nor did he make any remark upon it, but refused to listen to its details of public affairs, with which he said he was already acquainted.

Alba was at this time already in the Netherlands. He was soon followed thither by Cardinal Caraffa, the nephew to whom Paul IV. entrusted the duty of driving a bargain with the King of Spain about the money or territory with which the pontifical family were to be bribed over to keep the peace[1]—a negotiation which the greedy churchman prolonged until far into the spring. Philip received the Duke with all demonstrations of favour and gratitude, and was about to appoint him to an important post in Spain. A turn in the tide of events, however, induced him to alter this resolution, and to keep him about his own person in the capacity of President of the Council of War.

The Emperor, on the other hand, remained unreconciled to the shameful peace with the Caraffas, nor did he ever forgive Alba his share in the trans-

[1] A. Andrea, *Guerra de Roma*, &c., p. 315.

CH. VIII.
1558.

action. The Duke was anxious to ascertain his opinion of his conduct in remaining at court, and to obtain permission to visit him at Yuste; and Gaztelu was therefore privately desired by Vazquez to note whatever fell from him on these topics. But Charles would neither express his opinion, nor accord the permission required, showing a disposition, when his anger had cooled, rather to avoid the subject than to forgive the Duke. Only two months before his death, hearing that Philip had presented Alba with 150,000 ducats, he remarked that the King of Spain did more for the Duke of Alba than the Duke of Alba had ever done for the King of Spain.

But, on the whole, the Emperor's displeasure, though very mortifying, was rather creditable to the Duke. In his conduct towards the Pope, Alba had exactly fulfilled his sovereign's commands, though he never approved of his policy. To kiss the toe of Paul, in the name of his master, he felt like an act of personal dishonour; and he said, even in the pontiff's presence-chamber, to some of the Italian leaders, "Were I King of Spain, Cardinal Caraffa should have gone to Bruxelles and done on his knees what I have done this day to the Pope."[1] The shameful homage paid, the pontiff loaded him with

[1] A. de Castro, *Los Protestantes Españoles*, i. p. 131.

honours and caresses; he invited him to dinner; and he offered to make over to him all the Church patronage of the Holy See on his estates in Spain. But this offer Alba declined, saying that the concession and the acceptance of such a boon would be liable to suspicion, which it was better to avoid.[1] Had the Emperor known of this noble act of self-denial, and of the reluctance with which his old comrade in arms had signed the treaty, he would surely have regarded him with different feelings; and, as it would have been easy for Alba to bring these facts under his notice, it is fair to conclude that he bore the undeserved blame from a sense of chivalrous honour to the king whom he served.

Affairs in Flanders.

For the chagrin suffered by the Emperor in Italian politics, little compensation was afforded by the state of things in the north. The victory of St. Quentin, signal as it was, and important as it ought to have been, had but a slight and transitory effect upon the fortune of the war. The timid and procrastinating policy of Philip II. had already let slip the opportunities afforded by that battle, as his blind bigotry afterwards doomed to death the gallant Egmont, whose prowess had carried the day. The French king had been allowed not only to rally

[1] J. A. de Vera, *Vida del Duque de Alva*, p. 73. See also supra, chap. iii. p. 83.

CH. VIII.
1558.

Spanish losses.

his forces, but once more to cross the frontiers of Flanders. The Duke of Nevers retook Ham: Genlis put 1,200 Spaniards to the sword at Chaulny. Guise, burning to wipe away his disgraces in the Abruzzi and the Roman plains, suddenly appeared before Calais on the first night of the new year. Trusting to the strength of the fortifications, and to the surrounding marshes, which made the place almost an island in winter, the English government had for some years past, in a spirit of fatal economy, withdrawn great part of the garrison at that season. The only approaches by land were guarded by the forts of Risbank and Newnham Bridge. These Guise attacked at night, and was master of in the morning. The roar of his artillery was heard at Dover; but a storm dispersed the squadron which put out with relief. After some days of desultory and desperate fighting, Lord Wentworth struck his flag; the English troops filed off under a guard of Scottish archers; and the key of France, which two centuries before had resisted, for eleven months, Edward III. fresh from Cressy, was restored in one week to the house of Valois. The honour of having first conceived and planned the enterprise belonged to the admiral Coligny, still a prisoner of war in the hands of the Duke of Savoy. But Guise had nobly retrieved his laurels; and it would have been sufficient for his military glory, had he been victor only in his two

Guise takes Calais.

sieges—the most remarkable of the age—the heroic defence of Metz, and the dashing capture of Calais. France was in an uproar of exultation; St. Quentin was forgotten; and loud and long were the pæans of the Parisian wits, "replenished with scoffs and unmeasured terms against the English," who, in falling victims to a daring stratagem, gave, as it seemed to these poetasters, a signal proof of the immemorial "perfidy" of Albion.[1]

Emperor's mortification on receiving news.

The news of the loss of Calais reached Valladolid at the end of January, and Yuste on the 2nd February. In both places they were received with little less sorrow and alarm than they had caused in London. In the exploit of Guise the Emperor lamented not only a loss and an affront suffered by the nation of which his son was king, but an important accession to the strength of the most formidable neighbour of the Spanish Netherlands. The word Calais, which Mary Tudor dolefully declared to be written on her heart, was also ever on the tongue of her kinsman Charles. For days he spoke of nothing else, recurring perpetually to the sore subject, and saying that now there was nothing but the castle of Ghent between the French and Bruxelles. To his secretary Gaztelu he confessed that he had never in his life received so

[1] Hollinshed, *Chronicles*, 6 vols. 4to, London, 1808, iv. p. 93.

CH. VIII. 1558.

painful a blow; and he wrote in the most urgent terms to the Princess-Regent, telling her that every nerve must now be strained to raise money to repair the loss, and reinforce the King's army. The chamberlain shared his master's feelings; and in his letter on the occasion to Vazquez, severely criticised the Castilian leaders for their remissness, and prophesied that Gravelines, Nieuport, and Dunkirk would likewise soon fall into the hands of the enemy.

Report of pregnancy of Queen Mary of England and Spain.

As a slight consolation for the loss of Calais, came a promise of a new heir to the kingdom, in the shape of a report of the pregnancy of the Queen—a pregnancy in which, however, few people believed, except poor Mary herself, and which was, in truth, nothing more than the crisis of the dropsy, which in a few months gave her crown to Elizabeth, released her people from the hateful yoke of Philip, and enabled the mind of England once more to march in the noble path of civil and religious freedom.

Her death.

Emperor's gout.

In this gloomy time of disaster, the Emperor continued to suffer from gout, which sometimes so completely disabled his fingers, that instead of signing the necessary despatches, he was obliged to seal them with a small private signet. In spite of his eider-down robes and quilts, he lay in bed shivering, and complaining of cold in his bones. His appetite was beginning to fail him, but his repasts, though

diminished in quantity, were still of a quality to perplex the doctor, consisting principally of the rich fish which he could neither dine without nor digest. His favourite beverage at this time was *vino bastardo*, a sweet wine made from raisins, and brought from Seville, and long popular in England.[1] When he got a little better, he ate, in spite of all remonstrances, some raw oysters, a rash act upon which Quixada remarked despairingly to the secretary of state, "Surely kings imagine that their stomachs are not made like other men's."

Meeting between the Queens and the Infanta Mary of Portugal at Badajoz.

Meanwhile the Queens of France and Hungary effected their meeting with their daughter and niece, the Infanta Mary of Portugal. Early in January, that princess arrived at Elvas in great state, attended by a gallant following of the Portuguese nobility. After some points of etiquette had been argued and adjusted, she crossed the plains of the Guadiana, and having been received in due form by a party of Spanish nobles at the border rivulet of Caya, she finally reached the longing arms of her mother. Don Antonio Puertocarrero was sent down from Valladolid to offer her the congratulations of the Princess-Regent, to which were added those of the Emperor, the envoy having likewise received, as he

[1] Prince Hal (*Henry IV.*, Act ii. sc. 4, l. 82), remarks, "Why, then, your brown bastard is your only drink."

CH. VIII.
1558.

passed, credentials at Yuste. At Badajoz the Infanta remained for twenty days, during which time her mother and aunt exhausted all their arguments and caresses in the attempt to induce her to settle in Spain.[1] Queen Eleanor gave her jewels to the value of 50,000 ducats, and Queen Mary added a quantity of rich dresses and household plenishing. But her heart was sealed against the land of which she had hoped to be queen, and against the nearest and tenderest ties of her Spanish blood. She therefore remained inflexible in her determination to return to Portugal, and bade an eternal farewell to her weeping mother with no visible marks of concern. During her stay at Badajoz, however, she was careful to fulfil the laws of etiquette to the letter, and accordingly despatched Don Emanuel de Melo to present her compliments to the Regent and the Emperor. Her ambassador travelled with unusual magnificence, and with his cavalcade of fifty horsemen excited great stir in Quacos and at Yuste.

Queens leave Badajoz.

On the 11th February the Queens set out from Badajoz, and the Emperor sent Gaztelu down to Truxillo to meet them on the road. But they had accomplished only three leagues of their journey,

[1] A pretty full account of the visit will be found in Fr. Miguel Pacheco, *Vida de Doña Maria*, fos. 80–81. The beauty and wit of the little court was Doña Felipa de Mendoça, who was the lady in whose honour the greatest feats of prowess and skill were performed in the Canas and Sortija.

Queen Eleanor taken ill at Talaverilla.

when Eleanor, who had been suffering at Badajoz with her usual asthma, and a slight attack of fever, was taken seriously ill at Talaverilla, a small ague-stricken town on a melancholy plain. Dr. Cornelio, who was in attendance, had the worst opinion of her case. Intelligence of her danger was immediately sent off to the Infanta, who was still on the frontier of Portugal, but who, nevertheless, refused to set foot again in Spain. A courier was likewise despatched to Yuste, whence Quixada was ordered instantly to ride post to Talaverilla. Gaztelu, who had probably met the courier on the road, as he was going to Truxillo, arrived first, on the morning of the 18th February. He found the Queen sitting in her chair, panting for breath, and suffering much pain; but in full possession of her faculties, and listening with eager interest to some business of her daughter's. At six in the evening, however, he was hastily sent for to take leave of her; her strength was then utterly exhausted, and she was lying in a state of stupor; the Bishop of Palencia standing at her side in his robes, ready to administer the last solemn rite of the Church. On hearing the secretary announced, she roused herself for a moment, and said, "Tell my brother, the Emperor, that he must take care of my daughter, the Infanta." With her last thoughts thus fixed upon the thankless child who had been the idol of

CH. VIII.
1558.

her life, she sank again into unconsciousness; and within an hour, her loving heart had ceased to beat; and the long account of her gentle deeds, her womanly self-sacrifices, and her meekly-borne sorrows, was closed for ever. Luis de Avila, who stood by her dying bed, truly described her "as the gentlest and most guileless creature he had ever known, and as one who left no better being in the world." Quixada galloped into the town just in time to see her before she expired, and immediately, in a few simple lines of honest emotion, communicated the event to his master at Yuste.

Dies,

The remains of the Queen were deposited at Merida, and afterwards gathered to those of her kindred at the Escorial. Her desire was that the interment should be simple and private, and that the money which more sumptuous obsequies would have cost should be given to the poor. Under her will, her undutiful daughter became her universal legatee, and inherited a vast quantity of plate, jewels, and tapestry, sundry large sums due to the Queen by the crowns of France and Spain, and various lordships in Castile and Languedoc; a heritage which, with her patrimonial portion and her towns of Viseu and Torres Vedras, made her one of the greatest matches in Europe.[1] On the death of his English queen,

leaving her fortune to the Infanta of Portugal.

[1] Dam. de Goes, *Chronica do Rei D. Emanuel*, iv. fol. 84.

Philip the Prudent once more turned his thoughts to his forsaken love, and for a brief moment the Portuguese Infanta was again destined for the Spanish throne. A successful rival, however, again intervened in the shape of peace with France, and a young, lovely, and well-dowered daughter of Valois. Fate had marked Mary of Avis for single-blessedness; and in spite of all the attempts made on her behalf, she died unmarried, a fact which Portuguese historians patriotically ascribe to her unwillingness to deprive Portugal of her splendid dowry. Her grand-nephew, Don Sebastian, became heir to the residue of her fortune that remained after the completion of her splendid mausoleum, in the chapel of Our Lady of Light, and of the nunneries and other religious edifices, which her lavish piety had founded in all parts of the kingdom.[1]

Grief of Queen Mary,

Queen Mary mourned for her sister with the mourning of true sorrow and affection. Tenderly attached to each other, they had been for ten years inseparable companions. Notwithstanding her desire to see her daughter, Eleanor had refused to leave the Netherlands until Mary was also free to seek repose in Spain;[2] and Mary had made the care of Eleanor's declining health the chief occupation of

[1] Pedro de Mariz, *Didlogos de Varia Historia*, sm. 8vo, Lisbon, 1594, fol. 205.

[2] *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. p. 477.

CH. VIII.
1558.

and the Emperor.

her retirement. After the funeral rites were over, when Gaztelu and Quixada were setting out to Yuste, the Queen of Hungary, in giving them a parting audience, was so overcome with grief, that her messages to her brother were drowned in sobs and tears. The Emperor, on receiving the news, likewise wept bitterly, and displayed an emotion which he rarely felt, or, at least, rarely permitted to be seen. For Eleanor, although her happiness never stood in the way of his policy, had ever been his favourite sister. "There were but fifteen months," he said, "between us in age, and in less than that time I shall be with her once more,"—a prophecy which was exactly fulfilled. The shock increased the violence of his disorders, and his strength was so much prostrated, that Gaztelu did not venture to tell him the intelligence which had just come, that Oran was again menaced by a Turkish fleet. Nevertheless the invalid gave his orders about mourning for the household, and about the masses to be said for the deceased in the convent church. For many days he lay in bed, sometimes tossing restlessly, sometimes unable to move for pain, eating very little and sleeping still less. It was not till the end of the month that he showed any symptoms of amendment, or was able to sit up; or to taste a dried herring from Burgos with a head of garlic; or to receive visitors. Luis de Avila was one of the first

inquirers who presented himself; and the Emperor was much the better for seeing him. From the deathbed scene at Talaverilla, their conversation passed to war and politics, when the Emperor, recurring to the loss of Calais, said that he regretted it like death itself.

Luis de Avila visits him.

The Queen of Hungary arrived on the 3rd March, and on this occasion was lodged for some nights in the convent. When she visited her brother next morning, he was much affected on seeing Mary enter his room alone; and he afterwards said to Quixada, that until then he had not felt the reality of Queen Eleanor's death. Observing the effect she had produced, Queen Mary avoided it in future by going attended either by the chamberlain, or by Avila, or by the Bishop of Palencia. The course of their genuine natural sorrow was interrupted by the official semblance of woe in the shape of Don Hernando de Roxas, sent from Valladolid to condole with the court of Lisbon, and of Don Bernardino de Tavora, on a similar mission from Lisbon, to the courts of Valladolid and Yuste. The Emperor gave audiences to both of these envoys, and found that the Portuguese brought, on the part of his Queen, not only a string of decent and consolatory truisms, but some very uncomfortable intelligence of a Turkish descent on the African possessions of the house of Avis, and of the accession to power of a

Queen Mary at Yuste.

Envoys from Valladolid and Lisbon.

CH. VIII.

1558.

new sultan of Fez, who was likely to be troublesome to both Spain and Portugal.[1]

Queen Mary moved in a few days from Yuste to her old abode at Xarandilla. On the 15th March she came to take leave of the Emperor, and found him again in bed, and suffering much pain from an ulcerated finger. It was the last time that they met in this world. She passed the night at Quacos, and set off next day at noon for Valladolid, preceded by Luis Quixada, who had started at dawn to provide for the evening's repose. Some months afterwards she sent some illuminated choir-books to the monks of Yuste, as an offering to their church and a memorial of her visit to the convent. For Mary shared her brother's tastes, and was both a collector and a lover of works of art. Evidence of her feeling on these matters is preserved in the letter relating to a portrait of her nephew Philip, painted by Titian, and lent by her to Philip's longing bride, Mary of England, in which she displays the greatest solicitude not only that the picture should be safely and speedily returned, but that it should also be seen at a due distance, and in an advantageous light.[2]

Queen Mary removes to Xarandilla.

Goes to Valladolid attended by Quixada.

Quixada attended the Queen not solely for her

[1] Menezes, *Chrónica*, p. 75.

[2] *Papiers d'état de Granvelle*, iv. p. 150.

convenience, but partly to communicate to the Princess-Regent some confidential instructions from the Emperor, and partly that he might now superintend the removal of his own household from Villagarcia to Quacos. He arrived at court at noon on the 19th, and immediately saw the Regent. His business was to explain the Emperor's views as to the best means of raising money, the great end of all Spanish government, and to persuade the Princess to consult Queen Mary in all state affairs of importance, and especially on topics connected with Flanders, which she had ruled so long and so wisely. With whatever deference Juana may have received her father's financial advice, she showed no deference whatever to his second proposal. She was desirous to resign the government to her brother, but she would on no account share it with her aunt. She would not even permit Quixada to mention the Emperor's wish to the Council of State. She was willing that Mary's treasurer should be heard occasionally before the Council; but as he was a Frenchman, and therefore not entirely to be trusted, even this concession must be cautiously used. But as to allowing the Queen herself a voice as a matter of right, that, she said, she could never agree to; for Mary's temper was well known to be so imperious that were she permitted to meddle at all, she would soon make herself mistress of the

Emperor desires that she be consulted on public affairs.

Princess-Regent refuses.

CH. VIII.
1558.

whole state. Besides, when she herself was appointed Regent, no such interference with her power was proposed or even contemplated; and in short, if the point were insisted on, she would resign the government.[1] The point was not insisted on, and Queen Mary fixed her residence at Cigales, a hamlet near which there was a small royal seat, about two leagues from the capital, crowning a vine-clad height on the western side of the vale of the Pisuerga.

Emperor's scheme of finance.

The Emperor's scheme of finance seems to have been submitted by the Princess to the Council, for a memorial on the subject was immediately prepared by that body, and forwarded for approval to Yuste. This document suggested, as a means of raising funds, an increase in the price of salt, the sale of certain lands belonging to the military orders, the sale of certain honorary offices and of patents of nobility (*hidalguias*), and the sale of acts or patents conferring legitimacy on the children of the clergy.

Seville bullion case.

The inquiry into the Seville bullion case continued to drag its slow length along, with results which were submitted at intervals to the Emperor. Some of the merchants, accused of being averse to the seizure of their property, having informed on

[1] Quixada to Emp., 19th March [Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. ii. p. 330]; and Princess to Emp., 22nd March 1558 [ibid. p. 347]. Gonzalez MS.

each other, he advised that free pardon should be offered to all shipmasters and sailors who should give evidence leading to further discoveries. Nothing worthy of note was elicited, but the facts that there was hardly a trader in Seville who was not guilty of concealing his gold and silver; and that, so great was the distrust of the royal mint, that some of the importers made quoits (*tejuelos*) of those precious metals, hoping that, in that humble disguise, they might escape the vigilance of the royal searchers.

A proof of the straits to which the treasury was reduced is found in a fresh skirmish which took place between the self-willed Grand-Inquisitor, Valdés, and the court. Some months before, the Emperor had written to the Princess that so soon as the body of his mother, the late Queen Juana, should be considered sufficiently dry, it was to be transferred with proper state from Tordesillas to Granada, and there laid beside her husband, Philip the Handsome, in the magnificent tomb of white marble, wrought by the delicate chisel of Vigarny, in the chapel-royal of the cathedral. Towards the end of March, the weather being favourable, and the royal corpse being pronounced ripe for removal, the Marquess of Comares and the Grand-Inquisitor were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to escort it on the journey. But the prelate excused himself, on the plea that he must

Grand-Inquisitor Valdés refuses to attend body of Queen Juana to Granada.

CH. VIII. 1558.

attend to the business of the Holy Office, and to the souls of the Moriscos of Valladolid. The Princess, on the other hand, not only refused to admit this excuse, but said that it was an excellent opportunity for him to visit his diocese, from which he had been long absent, and she therefore ordered him to proceed on the journey, and return by way of Seville. With this new order the Archbishop flatly refused to comply, alleging that since a certain decree of the Council of Trent, which had greatly extended the powers of chapters, he had been waging such a war with his canons that it was utterly impossible for him to honour them with his presence. The Infanta, finding him thus stubborn, referred the matter to the Council, which at once decided against the recusant. Still the Archbishop held out, setting forth the hardship of his case in letters, each of which was more cool, plausible, and copious than the one before it; and at last hinting that, if he were left to choose his own time, he would go down to Granada, and find means of levying on the Moriscos there a fine of 100,000 ducats for the royal service. The bait took, and the insolent old churchman was left to pursue, undisturbed, his present course of cruelty and exaction at Valladolid; and another holy man was appointed to pray beside the crazy Queen's coffin as it journeyed to the tomb.

Under a course of sarsaparilla and an infusion of liquorice the Emperor's health improved as the genial spring weather came on. But his attack of gout had shaken him considerably, and for many weeks painful twinges were apt to revisit his arms and knees. Nor was he so fit for exercise as he had been during the previous year; and his gun ceased to persecute the wood-pigeons in the walnut trees. But he was still able to sit or saunter among his new parterres, bright and fragrant with vernal flowers, and to superintend the progress of his fountain and summer-house, which were ready in summer to shed their coolness and offer their shade. To his family of pets the Queen of Portugal added in April a pair of very small Indian cats, and a parrot, gifted with wonderful faculties of speech, which soon became the favourite of the palace.

Emperor's health and occupation.

The Emperor's punctual attendance, whenever his health permitted, on religious rites in church, and his fondness for finding occasion for extraordinary functions there, won him golden opinions among the friars. On each 1st of May, during his stay at the convent, he caused funeral honours to be celebrated for his Empress with great pomp, and a liberal allowance of tapers. When he himself had completed a year of residence, some good-humoured bantering passed between him and the master of the novices, about its being now time for him to make

His fondness for religious ceremonies.

CH. VIII.
1558.

profession: and he afterwards declared, as the friars averred, that he was prevented from taking the vows, and becoming one of themselves, only by the state of his health.

Gives the friars a picnic on St. Blas's Day.

St. Blas's Day, 1558, the anniversary of his arrival, was held as a festival, and celebrated by masses, the *Te Deum*, a procession, and a sermon by Villalva. In the afternoon, the Emperor, who was unfortunately confined to bed, and unable to appear,[1] provided a sumptuous repast for the whole convent out of doors, it being the custom of the fraternity to mark any accession to their numbers by a picnic. The country people of the Vera sent a quantity of partridges and kids to aid the feast, which was also enlivened by the presence of many of the Flemish retainers, male and female, from the village of Quacos. The prior provided a more permanent memorial of the day by opening a new book for the names of brethren admitted to the convent, on the first leaf of which the Emperor inscribed his name, an autograph which was the pride of the archives until they were destroyed by the dragoons of Buonaparte.

His attention to religious forms

On the first Sunday after he came to the convent, as he went to mass, he observed the friar, who was sprinkling the holy water, hesitate as he approached

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 39.

to be aspersed. Taking the hyssop, therefore, from his hand, he bestowed a plentiful shower upon his own face and clothes, saying, as he returned the instrument, "This, father, is the way you must do it next time." Another friar offering the pyx containing the holy wafer to his lips, in a similarly diffident manner, he took it into his hands, and not only kissed it fervently, but applied it to his forehead and eyes with true Oriental reverence.

and fasts.

Feasting being his greatest pleasure, he considered fasting at due times and seasons the first of human duties; and during his last Lent in Flanders, he had specially charged the papal nuncio to grant licenses for the use of meat to no member of his household, except the sick whose lives were in danger.[1] Although provided with an indulgence for eating before communion, he never availed himself of it but when suffering from extreme debility; and he always heard two masses on the days when he partook of the solemn rite.

He usually heard mass from the window of his bedchamber, which looked into the church: but at complines he went up into the choir with the fathers, and prayed in a devout and audible voice in his tribune. During the season of Lent, which came round twice during his residence at Yuste, he

[1] *Relatione* of Badovaro. See supra, chap. iii. p. 80, note.

CH. VIII.

1558.

He flogs himself in the choir on Fridays in Lent.

His strictness with his Flemish servants.

regularly appeared on Fridays in his place in the choir, and, at the end of the appointed prayers, extinguishing the taper which he, like the rest, held in his hand, he flogged himself with such sincerity of purpose that the scourge was stained with blood, and the pious singularly edified. Some of these ensanguined scourges, found in his chamber after his death, became precious heirlooms in the house of Austria, and honoured relics at the Escorial.[1] Ever strict in requiring his Flemish servants to assemble for confession on the stated days when their countryman, the Flemish chaplain, came over from Xarandilla,[2] he was especially strict in causing them all, down to the meanest scullion, to communicate on Ash Wednesday; and on that occasion, he would stand on the highest step of the altar, to observe if the muster was complete. On Holy Thursday, his infirmities did not permit him to perform the royal rite of washing the feet of thirteen poor men; but it was performed in his presence by his chaplain, and was followed by the usual distribution of food and alms.[3]

---

[1] They were seen and handled there in the next century by Gaspar Scioppius, as he relates in his caustic book against Strada, *Infamia Famiani*, 12mo, Amsterd., 1663, p. 18. He adds that, being still stained with the blood of Charles, they could have "given little pain to the backs" of the Philips, his descendants, p. 19.

[2] Supra, chap. v. p. 162.

[3] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 39.

Good Friday.

On Good Friday, he went forth at the head of his household to adore the holy cross; and, although he was so infirm that he was almost carried by the men on whom he leaned, he insisted upon prostrating himself three times upon the ground, in the manner of the friars, before he approached the blessed symbol with his lips.

St. Matthias' Day celebrations.

The feast of St. Matthias, a saint whose name he bore, he always celebrated with peculiar devotion as a day of great things in his life, being the day of his birth, his coronation, the victories of Bicocca and Pavia, and the birth of his son Don John of Austria. On this festival, therefore, he appeared at mass in a dress of ceremony, and wearing the collar of the Golden Fleece, and at the offertory expressed his gratitude by an oblation of as many crowns as his life numbered years. The church was thronged with strangers, and the crowd from distant villages was so great, that a second office and sermon took place outside, beneath the shadow of the great walnut tree of Yuste. The concourse was attracted by a plenary indulgence granted on that day by special Papal decree, and enjoyed by the convent until the privilege was transferred with the Emperor's bones to the Escorial.[1]

The Emperor lived with the friars on terms of

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 39.

CH. VIII.

1558.

His familiarity with the friars.

friendly familiarity, of which they were very proud, and his household somewhat ashamed. He always insisted on his confessor being seated in his presence, and would never listen to the entreaties of the modest divine, that he should at least be allowed to stand when the chamberlain or any one else came into the room. "Have no care of this matter, Fray Juan," he would say, "since you are my father in confession, and I am equally pleased by your sitting in my presence, and by your blushing when caught in the act." He knew all the friars by sight and by name, and frequently conversed with them, as well as with the prior; and he received their presents of fruit with a courtesy as punctilious as the gifts of a prelate or a duchess. When the visitors of the order paid their triennial visit of inspection to Yuste, they represented to him, with all respect, that His Majesty himself was the only inmate of the convent with whom they had any fault to find; and they entreated him to discontinue the benefactions which he was in the habit of bestowing on the fraternity, and which it was against their rule for Jeronymites to receive. One of his favourites was the lay-brother,

Alonso Mudarra.

Alonso Mudarra,[1] who, after having filled offices of trust in the state, was now working out his own salvation as cook to the convent. This worthy had

[1] [See supra, chap. v. p. 150.]

an only daughter, who did not share her father's contempt for mundane things. When she came with her husband to visit him at Yuste, emerging from among the pots in his dirtiest apron, he thus addressed her: "Daughter, behold my gala apparel; obedience is now my pleasure and my pride; for you, with your silks and vanities, I entertain a profound pity!" So saying, he returned to his cooking, and would never see her again, an effort of holiness to which he appears to owe his place in the chronicles of the order.

Emperor dines in friars' refectory.

Once the Emperor honoured the friars with his company at dinner in their refectory. It was on the 6th June 1557, being St. Vincent's Day; and the illustrious guest was observed to be in particularly good spirits. A table was laid for him apart, near a sideboard, on which Van Male, his sole attendant, carved the meats as they came. The cookery of the austere Fray Alonso did not seem to be to the taste of his imperial friend, who ate little, and left several of the dishes untouched. The prior expressing his regret that the fare did not please, Charles assured him that everything was excellent, and that he expected that the untasted meats would be put aside for him for another meal.[1]

While the Emperor's servants were surprised by his

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 37.

CH. VIII.

1558.

His good nature to his servants.

familiarity with the stupid friars, the friars marvelled at his forbearance with his careless servants. They noted his patience with Adrian the cook, although it was notorious that he left the cinnamon, which his master loved, out of the dishes whereof it was the proper seasoning; and how mildly he admonished Pelayo the baker, who, getting drunk and neglecting his oven, sent up burnt bread, which must have sorely tried the toothless gums of the Emperor. Nevertheless, the old military habits of the recluse had not altogether forsaken him; and there were occasions in which he showed himself something of a martinet in enforcing the discipline of his household and the convent. Observing in his walks, or from his window, that a certain basket daily went and came between his garden and the garden of the friars, he sent for Moron, minister of the horticultural department, and caused him to institute a search, of which the result was the harmless discovery that the cepevorous Flemings were in the habit of bartering egg-plants with the friars for double rations of onions. The confessor Regla had gone one day, without asking leave, to borrow some books of a friend at Plasencia. The Emperor happening to call for him, and learning his absence, immediately despatched a mounted messenger in pursuit, to order him back. The order reached the poor monk just as he alighted at his friend's door, after a ride of twenty-five miles;

CH. VIII.
1558.

but he thought it prudent to obey it forthwith, and retrace his steps to Yuste. "I would have you know, Fray Juan," said his imperial charge, "that it is my pleasure that you do not stir from the convent without my consent."[1] He had also been disturbed by suspicious gatherings of young women, who stood gossiping at the convent gate, under pretence of receiving alms. At Yuste, the spirit of misogyny was less stern than it had formerly been at Mejorada, where the prior once assured Queen Mary of Castile that if she opened, as she proposed, a door from her palace into the conventual choir, he and his monks would fly from their polluted abode.[2] In his secular life, Charles was accused by one contemporary[3] of following the ways of pious times "before polygamy was made a sin," and praised by another for being so severely virtuous as to shut his window when he saw a pretty woman pass along the street.[4] Here, however, he was determined that neither he himself, nor his servants, nor his Jeronymite hosts should be led into temptation. His complaint to the superior not sufficiently suppressing the evil, it was repeated to the visitors when they came

He is disturbed by women at convent gate.

[1] M. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Retraite de Charles V.*, p. 31.
[2] Fr. Pedro de la Vega, *Crónica de los frayles de Sant Hieronymo*, fol., Alcalá, 1539; black letter, fol. xli.
[3] Badovaro. See chap. iii. p. 80, note.
[4] Zenocarus, *Vita Caroli V.*, p. 268.

CH. VIII.
1558.

their rounds. An order was then issued that the conventual dole, instead of being divided at the door, should be sent round in certain portions to the villages of the Vera, for distribution on the spot. And although it was well known that St. Jerome had sometimes miraculously let loose the lion, which always figures in his pictures, against the women who ventured themselves within his cloisters,[1] it was thought prudent to adopt more sure and secular means for their exclusion. The crier therefore went down the straggling street of Quacos, making the ungallant proclamation that any woman who should be found nearer to the convent of Yuste than a certain oratory, about two gunshots from the gate, was to be punished with a hundred lashes.

The remedy.

Renunciation of imperial crown, 3rd May.

On the 3rd May 1558, the Emperor received an intimation from the secretary of state that all the forms of his renunciation of the imperial crown had been gone through, and that the act against which Philip and the court had so frequently remonstrated, was now complete. He expressed the greatest delight at this intelligence, and sending for his chaplain, gave orders that his name should henceforth be omitted from the mass and other prayers, and the name of his brother Ferdinand used in its place. In notifying the fact to his attendants, he

Emperor's joy at the intelligence,

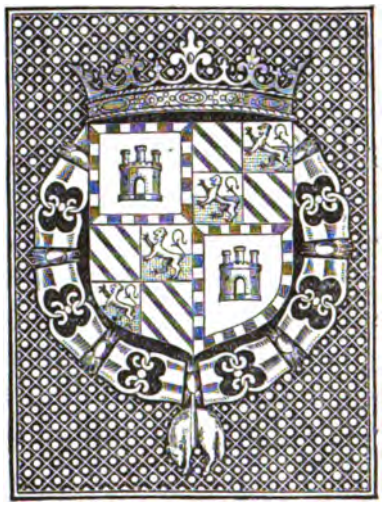
and consequent orders.

[1] P. de la Vega, *Crónica*, fol. xli.

said, "The name of Charles is now enough for me, who henceforward am nothing."[1] In his next communication with Valladolid, he instructed Gaztelu to intimate that in future he was to be addressed, not as Emperor, but as a private person, and that a couple of seals, "without crown, eagle, fleece, or other device," were to be made and forthwith sent for his use. In this letter the usual heading, "the Emperor," was left out, and it was addressed to Juan Vazquez de Molina, not, as before, "*my* secretrary," but "secretary of the council of the King, my son." The blank seals were made and sent; but, in spite of Charles's injunctions, the Princess-Regent and all his other correspondents continued to address him by his ancient style and title of "sacred Cæsarean Catholic Majesty," which indeed it would have been no less difficult than absurd to change. Once he made a practical protest against being any longer considered as a royal personage. The women of Quacos having sent him a nosegay of fine pinks, the offering was conveyed in a basket which the maker had adorned with an imperial crown of wicker-work and flowers. This decoration he ordered to be taken away, before he would receive the pinks.

His dislike of royal insignia.

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 43.



CHAPTER IX.

THE INQUISITION, ITS ALLIÉS AND ITS VICTIMS.

The Church in danger.

THE year 1558 is memorable in the history of Spain. In that year was decided the question whether she was to join the intellectual movement of the north, or lag behind in the old paths of mediæval faith; whether she was to be guided by the printing-press, or to hold fast by her manuscript missals. It was in that year that she felt the first distinct shock of the great moral earthquake, out of which had already come Luther and Protestantism, out of which were to come the Thirty Years' War, the English Commonwealth, French revolutions, and modern republics. The effect was visible and palpable, yet transient as the effect produced by the

CH. IX.
1558.

great Lisbon earthquake on the distant waters of Lochlomond. But to the powers that were it was sufficiently alarming. For some weeks a Church-in-danger panic pervaded the court at Valladolid and the cloister of Yuste; and it was feared that while the Most Catholic King was bringing back his realm of England to the true fold, Castile herself might go astray into the howling wilderness of heresy and schism.

Church abuses and reform movement.

The harvest of Church abuses into which Luther and his band thrust their sharp sickles in Germany had long been rank and rife to the south of the Pyrenees. Nor were reapers, strong, active, and earnest, wanting to the field. From the beginning of the sixteenth century, not only laymen, but even friars, priests, and dignitaries of the Church, had stood forth with voice and pen to make solemn protest against the vices of the various orders of the priesthood; against the greedy avarice and dissolute lives of monks; against the regular clergy, who preferred their hawks and hounds to their cures of souls; against oppressive prelates and chapters, who lived in open concubinage, and heaped preferment upon their bastards; and even against Rome itself, where all these iniquities were practised on an imperial scale, and whence Europe was irrigated with ecclesiastical pollution. In the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, and during the infamous

papacy of Alexander VI., the disorders of the Franciscan mendicants had reached such a pitch of public scandal in Spain, that those of them who adhered to the party which was called cloisteral, in opposition to the reformed party of the observants, were suppressed by law, and actually expelled from their monasteries. But although this just and necessary measure was enforced by the strong hand of Ximenes, then provincial of the order and afterwards Cardinal-Primate, the cowled vagabonds who, refusing to purge and live cleanly, were driven from Toledo, had the audacity to file out of the Visagra gate in long procession, headed by a crucifix, and chanting the psalm which celebrates the exodus of the people of God from the bondage of Egypt.[1] Abundant proof of the demoralised state of the Spanish clergy, regular and secular, may be found in those collections of obscene songs and poems, still preserved as curiosities in libraries, and composed chiefly in the cloister, in an age when none but churchmen wrote, and few but churchmen read.[2] Similar evidence, per-

[1] Psalm cxiii. (in our version cxiv.), "*In exitu Israel de Egypto*," &c. See Eugenio de Robles, *Vida del Cardenal D. Fran. Ximenes de Cisneros*, 4to, Toledo, 1604, p. 68; and Alvar. Gomez, *De rebus gestis a F. Ximenio Cisnerio*, 4to, Compluti, 1569, fol. 7.

[2] See the curious essay on this subject, by Don Luis de Usoz y Rio, prefixed to the *Cancionero de obras de burlas*, 4to, Valencia, 1519; reprinted sm. 8vo, London, 1841.

CH. IX.
1558.

haps still more convincing, exists in the proverbial philosophy of Spain, that old and popular record in which each generation noted its experience, where clerical cant, greed, falsehood, gluttony, and uncleanness are so frequently lashed, as to leave no doubt of the wisdom of the precept which said, "Parson, friar, and Jew, friends like these eschew."[1]

These evils were so monstrous and so crying, that those who denounced them enjoyed for awhile the support of popular feeling, and even the goodwill of the secular power. But while all good men, both lay and ecclesiastic, deplored and even denounced the wickedness of churchmen, there is no reason to believe that they were shaken in their faith in the infallible Church. They abhorred the hireling shepherd, not only because he was hateful in himself, but also because they loved the true fold, of which he was the danger and the disgrace. Even the Inquisition was no enemy to reform, and although its chief business was to keep the Jew and the Moor under the yoke of enforced Christianity, it occasionally took cognisance of the grosser cases of clerical profligacy. Under the rule of Adrian of Utrecht, afterwards Pope, and of Cardinal Manrique, the Holy Office issued some decrees against the

[1] "Clérigo, frayle, ó Judio, no lo tengas por amigo." A. de Castro, *Los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 39.

heresy of Luther and against the importation of heretical books into Spain. But the offenders condemned under these laws were few, and principally foreigners; and the fires were usually kindled for victims who were supposed to pray with their faces turned to the east, to deal in astrology and witchcraft, to keep the Sabbath, to circumcise their children, to hate the Christian sound of bells, or to use the heathen luxury of the bath.

Heretical books.

It was not until near the middle of the century that the seed cast by the wayside took root in the stony ground of Castile. Then it was that Spanish pens began to be busy with translations of the Scriptures. That such translations were as yet not forbidden, may be inferred from the fact that the first work of the kind, the Castilian New Testament of Enzinas, printed at Antwerp in 1543, was dedicated to the Emperor Charles V. In spite, however, of this judicious choice of a patron, the poor translator very shortly found himself in prison at Bruxelles, as a heretical perverter of the text. Notwithstanding his ill-fortune, several versions of the Psalms and other sacred books, and a New Testament in verse, were put forth from the presses of Antwerp and Venice. Commentaries, glosses, dialogues, and other treatises of questionable orthodoxy, followed in rapid succession. Their circulation in Spain became so extensive that the Inquisition

Bibles.

CH. IX. 1558.

interfered with fresh laws and increased severities. The stoppage of the regular traffic only stimulated public curiosity, and the forbidden tracts were soon smuggled in bales by the muleteers over the mountains from Huguenot Bearne, or run in casks by English or Dutch traders, on the shores of Andalusia. Something like public opinion began to gather and stir; strange questions were raised in the schools of Alcalá and Salamanca; strange doctrines were spoken from cathedral pulpits, and whispered in monastic cloisters; and high matters of faith, which had been formerly left to the entire control of the clergy, were handled by laymen, and even by ladies, at Seville and Valladolid. No longer contented with pointing out the weather-stains and rents in the huge ecclesiastical fabric, reformers began to pry with inconvenient curiosity into the nature of its foundations. But no sooner had the first stroke fallen upon that venerable accumulation of ages than the chiefs of the black garrison at once saw the full extent of their danger. To them the rubbish on the surface being far more productive, was at least as sacred as the eternal rock beneath. Wisely, therefore, postponing their private differences to a fitter season of adjustment, they sallied forth upon the foe, armed with all the power of the state as well as with all the terror of the keys. The unhappy inquirers, uncertain

of their own aims and plans, were not supported by any of those political chances and necessities which aided the triumph of religious reform in other lands. The battle was therefore short, the carnage terrible, and the victory so signal and decisive, that it remains to this day a source of shame or of pride to the zealots of either party, who still love the sound of the polemic trumpet. The Protestant must confess that the new religion has never succeeded in eradicating the old, even amongst the freest and boldest of the Teutonic people. The Catholic, on the other hand, may fairly boast, that in the Iberian peninsula the seeds of reform were crushed by Rome at once and for ever.

Spanish heretics not Protestants.

What the new tenets were can hardly be made clear to us, since they were not clear to the unhappy persons who were burned for holding them. Protestant divines have assumed that these tenets were Protestant, on account of the savage vengeance with which they were pursued by the Church. In one feature these dead and forgotten dogmas have some interest for the philosopher, in the glimmering perception which appears in them, that tolerance is a Christian duty; that honesty in matters of belief, is of far greater moment than the actual quality of the belief; and that speculative error can never be corrected, or kept at bay, by civil punishment. Yet none of the so-called Spanish

CH. IX.
1558.

Protestants have enunciated these sentiments so clearly as the Benedictine Virues in his treatise against the opinions of Luther and Melancthon.[1] Had time been given for the new spirit of inquiry to shape itself into some definite form, it would doubtless have greatly modified the character of Spanish religion; although it is scarcely probable that it would have led the children of the south, with their warm blood and tendency to sensuous symbolism, into that track of severe and progressive speculation, into which reform conducted the people of the north. But inquiry demands time; and the Church being too wise to trifle with so deadly a foe, it was strangled in the cradle by the iron gripe of the inquisitor. Fines, confiscation, the dungeon, the galleys, the rack, and the fire, admonished men to believe without questioning; and engendered the popular feeling that learning was indeed a dangerous thing, a feeling which early embodied itself in the form of a proverb, often cast by serene ignorance in the teeth of the toiling student, "He is so learned that he runs the risk of turning Lutheran."[2]

It would be curious to investigate the causes to

[1] Quoted by A. de Castro, *Los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 62.

[2] "Es tan docto que está en peligro de ser Lutherano." Cyprian Valera, *Exhortacion* prefixed to his Castilian Bible, Amsterdam, 1602; and quoted by A. de Castro, *Los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 84.

Causes of the repression of heresy in Spain.

which this repressive policy owed its success; and to discover the reasons why the Spaniard thus clung to a superstition which the Hollander cast away; why the strong giant whose flag was on every sea, and whose foot was on every shore, shrank to a pigmy in the field of theological speculation. But the germs of a popular faith must be sought for far and wide in the moral and physical circumstance of a people; and it lies beyond the scope of a biographical fragment, to analyse the mixed blood of the Spaniard, the moral atmosphere of his beautiful land, and the texture of his national history. Suffice it, therefore, to notice two points wherein the victorious Church possessed advantages in Spain, which were wanting to her in the countries where she was vanquished. The first of these was the existence of a spiritual police claiming unlimited jurisdiction over thought, long established, well organised, well trained, untrammelled by the forms of ordinary justice, and so habitually merciless, as to have accustomed the nation to see blood shed like water on account of religious error. Before this terrible machinery the recruits of reform, raw, wavering, doubting, without any clear common principle or habits of combination, were swept away like the Indians of Mexico, before the cavalry and culverins of Cortes. The second advantage of the Spanish Church was her intimate connection with the

CH. IX. 1558.

national glory, and her strong hold, if not on the affections, at least on the antipathies of the people. The Moorish wars, which had been brought to a close within the memory of men still alive, had been eminently wars of religion and of race; they were domestic crusades, which had endured for eight centuries, and in which the Church had led the van; and in which the knights of Castile deemed it no disloyalty to avow that they had been guided to victory rather by the cross of Christ than by the castles and lions of their beloved Isabella. Deeply significant of the spirit of the enterprise and the age was the fact, that it was the sacred cross of Toledo, the symbol of primacy borne before the Grand-Cardinal Mendoza, which was solemnly raised, in the sight of the conquerors of Granada, when the crescents were flung down from the red towers of the mountain palace of the Moors.[1] Since that proud day, the Church, once more militant under Cardinal Ximenes, had carried the holy war into Africa, and gained a footing in the land of Tarik and the Saracen. All good Christians devoutly believed, with the chronicler,[2] that "powder burned against the infidel was sweet incense to the Lord." In Spain itself

[1] Pedro de Salazar, *Crónica de el gran Cardenal D. Pedro Gonzalez de Mendoça*, fol., Toledo, 1625, p. 256.

[2] Gonz. Fernandez de Oviedo, *Quincuagenas*, quoted by Prescott, *Hist. of Ferdinand and Isabella.*

there was still a large population of Moorish blood, which made a garden of many a pleasant valley, and a fortress of many a mountain range, and which, although Christian in name, was well known to be Moslem in heart and secret practice, and to be anxiously looking to the Great Turk for deliverance from thraldom. Every city, too, had its colony of Hebrews, wretches who accumulated untold wealth, eschewed pork and holy water, and ate the paschal lamb. Against these domestic dangers the Church kept watch and ward, doing, with the full approval of the Christian people, all that cruelty and bad faith could do to make Judaism and Islamism eternal and implacable. When the Barbary pirates sacked a village on the shores of Spain, or made a prize of a Spanish galley at sea, it was the Church who sent forth those peaceful crusaders, the white-robed friars of the Order of Mercy, to redeem the captives from African bondage. In Spain, therefore, heresy, or opposition to the authority of the Church, was connected in the popular mind with all that was most shameful in their annals of the past, and all that was most hated and feared in the circumstances of the present, and in the prospects of the future. In northern Europe, the Church had no martial achievements to boast of, and few opportunities of appearing in the beneficent character of a protector or redeemer. She was known merely in

CH. IX. 1558.

her spiritual capacity; or as a power in the state no less proud and oppressive than king or count; or as the channel through which the national riches were drained off into the Papal treasury at Rome. In the north, the reformer was not merely the denouncer of ecclesiastical abuses, but the champion of the people's rights, and the redresser of their wrongs. But in Spain, the poor enthusiast, to his horror, found himself associated in popular esteem, as well as in the Inquisition dungeons, with the Jew, the crucifier of babies, and the Morisco, who plotted to restore the caliphate of the west. Men's passions became so inflamed against the new doctrines, that an instance is recorded of a wretched fanatic, who asked leave, which was joyfully granted, to light the pile whereon his young daughters were to die. Long after the excitement had passed away, a mark of the torrent remained in the proverbial phrase, in which the aspect of poverty was described as being "ugly as the face of a heretic." [1]

Measures of Grand-Inquisitor Valdés.

The Inquisitor-General, Archbishop Valdés, had for some months past been watching the movement party in the Church with anxiety, not unmingled with alarm. He had even applied to the Pope for extended powers. In February he received a brief, in which were renewed and consolidated all the

[1] A. de Castro, *Hist. de los Protestantes Españoles*, pp. 218, 311.

decrees ever issued by Popes or Councils against heresy—a document in which Paul, unable to resist the temptation of insulting Philip II., even while he was treating with him, conferred upon the Inquisition the power of deposing from their dignities heretics of whatever degree, were they bishops, archbishops, or cardinals, dukes, kings, or emperors.[1]

Dr. Augustin Cazalla.

The first heretic of note who was arrested at Valladolid, was Dr. Augustin Cazalla, an eminent divine who had for ten years attended Charles V. in Germany and the Netherlands as his preacher, and in that capacity had distinguished himself by the force and eloquence with which he had denounced Luther and his errors. But while he saved others, the doctor himself became a castaway. Having been for some time suspected of holding the new opinions, he was arrested on the 23rd April, as he was going to preach beyond the walls of the city, and was lodged in the prison of the Inquisition. His sister, and several other noble ladies, were likewise taken at the same time; and orders were given to search for an important member of the party, Fray Domingo de Roxas, son of the Marquess of Poza, a Dominican of high reputation for sanctity.

Notice of these events was immediately sent to

[1] Llorente, *Hist. de la Inquisicion*, 8 vols. sm. 8vo, Barcelona, 1835, iii. 264.

CH. IX.
1558.

Letters and words of Emperor.

Yuste. The Emperor heard of them with much emotion—emotion not of pity for the probable fate of his chaplain, but of horror of the crime laid to his charge. He soon afterwards addressed two letters to the Princess-Regent, one a private and tender epistle, the other a public despatch to be laid before the Council. In both of them he entreated her to lose no time and spare no pains to uproot the dangerous doctrine; and in the second, he advised that all who were found guilty should be punished, without any exception; and said that if the state of his health permitted, he would himself undertake any toil for the chastisement of so great a crime, and the remedy of so great an evil. Talking of the same matter with the prior of Yuste, he again expressed the same opinion and the same wish. "Father," said he, "if anything could drag me from this retreat, it would be to aid in chastising these heretics. For such creatures as those now in prison, however, this is not necessary, but I have written to the Inquisition to burn them all, for none of them will ever become true Catholics, or are worthy to live."[1]

His advice was taken, though not with the promptitude he desired. But the alguazils of the Holy Office knew no repose from their labour of

[1] Sandoval, ii. 829.

capturing the culprits. In a few days Fray Domingo de Roxas was taken, with several other members of the Roxas family, and several noble ladies of the family of the Marquess of Alcaniçes, a branch of the great house of Henriquez. New arrestments and new informations followed so fast upon each other, that the Inquisition was overwhelmed with business, and its prisons filled to overflowing. The extravagant alarm of the orthodox party was roused to fury by the extravagant boasts of some of the arrested preachers. "Let us alone," cried Cazalla, "but for four months, and we shall equal you in numbers."[1] Rumours were rife of a rising among the Jews of Murcia, and of a general emigration of the Moriscos of Aragon towards the frontiers of France. The Regent and her minister were at their wits' ends at the dangers which were thus thickening around them.

Fray Domingo de Roxas.

The crafty old Inquisitor-General alone rejoiced in the public panic and confusion. He was now secure from all chance of being sent to attend a royal corpse across the kingdom; of being ordered into exile amongst his refractory canons; or of being fleeced of his savings by the crown. So long as the faithful were menaced by this flood of Lutheran heresy, so long would he be the greatest man in the

Progress of the persecution.

[1] A. de Castro, *Los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 312.

CH. IX.
1558.

ark of safety—the Church. He therefore took his measures rather to direct than to lull the storm. Visiting Salamanca, he made there a large seizure of Bibles and other heretical books, and convened a council of doctors, with whose assistance he drew up a censure on the new doctrines, which he caused to be published in all the cities of the kingdom. In order the better to probe the seat of the disease, this zealous minister of truth sent out a number of spies to mix with the suspected Lutherans, under pretence of being inquirers or converts, and thus to make themselves acquainted with their numbers, principles, hopes, and designs. Lured to destruction by these wretches, many persons of all ranks were arrested at Toro and Zamora, Palencia and Logroño. Seville was the great southern seat of heresy, and in the neighbouring convent of St. Isidro del Campo, the Jeronymite friars almost to a man were tainted with the new opinions. Valladolid, however, was the stronghold of the sect, and in spite of the odour of sanctity which surrounded the pious Regent, the brimstone-savour of false doctrine offended the orthodox nostril in the very precincts of the palace.

Anxiety of the Emperor.

So engrossed was the Emperor with the subject, that he postponed to it for awhile all other affairs of state. He urged the Princess to remember that the welfare of the kingdom and of the Church of

God was bound up in the suppression of heresy, and that therefore it demanded greater diligence and zeal than any temporal matter. He had been informed that the false teachers had been spreading their poison over the land for nearly a year; a length of time for which they could have eluded discovery only through the aid or the connivance of a great mass of the people. If it were possible, therefore, he would have their crime treated in a short and summary manner, like sedition or rebellion. The King his son had executed sharp and speedy justice upon many heretics, and even upon bishops in England; how much more, then, ought his measures to be swift and strong in his own hereditary and Catholic realms? He recommended the Princess to confer with Quixada, and employ him in the business according as she judged best.

His letter to the Regent.

To the King in Flanders he wrote in a similar strain, insisting on the necessity of vigour and severity. And as if the letter, penned by the secretary, were not sufficiently forcible and distinct, he added this postscript in his own hand:—

His letter to the King,

"Son; the black business which has risen here has shocked me as much as you can think or suppose. You will see what I have written about it to your sister. It is essential that you write to her yourself, and that you take all the means in your power to cut out the root of the evil with rigour and

and its autograph postscript.

CH. IX.
1558.

rude handling. But since you are better disposed, and will assist more warmly, than I can say or wish, I will not enlarge further thereon. Your good father, Charles."[1]

The King's memorandum.

After reading this letter and postscript, Philip wrote on the margin this memorandum of a reply for the guidance of his secretary:—

"To kiss his hands for what he has already ordered in this business, and to beg that he will carry it on, and [assure him] that the same shall be done here, and [that I will take care] to advise him of what has been done up to the present time."[2]

Quixada's interview with the Grand-Inquisitor.

At the end of May, Quixada, by the Emperor's order, saw the Inquisitor-General, and urged on him the expediency of despatch in his dealings with heretics, and of even dispensing in their cases with the ordinary forms of his tribunal. But in this, as in everything else, Archbishop Valdés would take his own way and no other. With his usual plausi-

[1] "Hijo; este negro negocio que acá se ha levantado, me tiene tan escandalizado cuanto lo podeis pensar y juzgar. Vos veréis lo que escribo sobre ello á vuestra hermana. Es menester que escribais y que lo procureis cortar [proveais muy] de raiz y con mucho rigor y recio castigo. Y porque sé [que] teneis mas voluntad y asistereis [usaréis] de mas hervor que yo lo sabria ni podria, decir ni desear no me alargaré mas en esto. De vuestro buen padre, Carlos."—Emperor to Philip II., 25th May 1558. Gonzalez MS.

[2] "Besalle las manos por lo que en esto ha mandado y suplicarle lo lleve adelante, que de acá se hará lo mismo y avisarle de lo que se ha hecho hasta agora." [Gachard, *Retraite et Mort*, tom. i. pp. 302–3. The bracketted words in these two notes are variations in Gachard's text.]

bility he assured the chamberlain that the roots of the disease could not be laid bare more thoroughly than by the ordinary operations of inquisitorial surgery. Besides, so many people were crying out for quick and condign punishment to fall upon the criminals, that there was every reason to hope that the greater part of the nation still stood fast in the faith. He had, however, sent for the Bishop of Tarazona and the Inquisitor of Cuença to assist him in hearing cases, and would use every prudent method of shortening the proceedings.

The Inquisitor's measures detailed in letter to the Emperor.

A few days later, on the 2nd June, the Archbishop himself wrote to the Emperor, and submitted to him various new measures which appeared to him likely to be useful. First of all, he would extend the Holy Office to Galicia, Biscay, and Asturias, provinces which had not as yet benefitted by its paternal care. He next proposed to make confession and communion obligatory upon all the King's subjects, and to open a register of such persons as habitually absented themselves from those sacraments. A third suggestion was, that no schoolmaster should be allowed to exercise his calling until he had been licensed by a lay and a clerical examiner. And lastly, the book trade was to be placed under the severest restrictions. It was to be declared unlawful to print any book without the author's and printer's names, and without the permission of the Holy Office,

Censure of books.

CH. IX.
1558.

a permission which was also to be obtained before any book could be imported into the kingdom. Foreigners were to be forbidden to sell books; and Spanish books printed abroad were to be totally prohibited. Booksellers were to be compelled to hang up in their shops lists of all the books which they kept for sale. Lastly, informers were to be rewarded with the third or fourth part of the property of such persons as might be convicted through their means of breaches of any of these laws.

Unwise, unjust, and impracticable as these measures were, it does not appear that they were so considered by the Emperor, or that he withheld his approval from any of their absurd provisions. The Inquisitor-General therefore proceeded to enforce them. One of his first steps was to prepare a catalogue of books prohibited by the Church, which was published at Valladolid in the following year, and became the harbinger and model of the famous expurgatory index, opened by Paul IV., in which the Vatican continues to record its protest against the advancement of knowledge.[1] Thus it came to

Catalogue of prohibited books.

[1] *Cathalogus librorum qui prohibentur mandato illustriss. et reverendiss. D. D. Fernandi de Valdés Hispalen. archiepis. inquisitoris generalis Hispaniæ necnon et supremi sanctæ ac generalis inquisitionis senatus. Hic anno* MDLIX. *editus Pinciæ*, 4to of 28 leaves, or 56 pages, including title. It is extremely rare, and seems to have been unknown to Brundt. A copy is in the possession of Don Pascual de Gayangos, at Madrid. There were two earlier *Indices Exp.* published in Spain in 1546 and 1550. Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Literature*, 3 vols. 8vo, London, 1849, vol. i. p. 462.

pass that Mariana and Solis, Cervantes and Calderon, were forced to wait upon the pleasure and tremble at the caprice of licenser after licenser; that the beauty, the integrity, and even the existence of some of the finest works of the human mind were so long jeoparded in the dirty hands of stupid friars. There were ages in which the Church, as the sanctuary of art, and knowledge, and letters, deserved the gratitude of the world; but for the last three centuries she has striven to cancel the debt, in the noble offspring of genius which she has strangled in the birth, and in the vast fields of intellect which her dark shadow has blighted.

Dr. Mathys

For a time, at least, the vigilance exercised over bookshop and library was very strict. At Yuste, Dr. Mathys had a small Bible, in French and without notes, which, in these times of doubt and danger, he feared might get him into trouble. He therefore asked the secretary of state to procure him a license to retain and read the volume. Vazquez replied that the inquisitors demurred about granting this request; and the prudent doctor, therefore, soon after intimated that he had burned the forbidden book in the presence of the Emperor's confessor.

burns his Bible.

The physician judged wisely. When court ladies and Jeronymite friars were attacked with the plague of heresy, and carried off to the hospitals of the Inquisition, who could feel certain of escaping the

CH. IX. 1558.

epidemic, or the cure? The most Catholic horror of the new doctrines was therefore professed at Yuste; and Gaztelu, reporting, at the beginning of June, that ceaseless rain had been falling for nearly twenty days, remarked, that such weather would do much damage in the country, but that the errors of Luther would do far more. The Emperor was much distressed by a rumour that a son of Father Borja had been arrested at Seville. He immediately wrote to the secretary of state to send him a statement of the fact, and was relieved by learning that it was not known at court. It turned out to be a fiction of the friars of Yuste, who, thinking it hard that the fold of Jerome alone should have the shame of harbouring wolves in sheep's clothing, were nothing loath to cast a stone at the austerely orthodox and rapidly rising company of Jesus. On discovering the story's source the Emperor was not greatly surprised: for, said Gaztelu, "the friars and Flemings are ever filling his ears with fables, and I myself stink in their nostrils by reason of the many lies I have brought home to them."

Father Borja's son.

Another rumour, which was better founded, spoke of the arrest of Pompeyo Leoni, one of the royal artists. Much annoyed, the Emperor applied to Vazquez for information of the crime of "Pompeyo, son of Leoni, the sculptor who made my bust and the King's, and brought them with him to Spain in

Pompeyo Leoni.

BARTOLOME CARRANZA DE MIRANDA.

the fleet in which I myself came hither." The secretary answered that the sculptor was in prison for maintaining certain Lutheran propositions; and that he was sentenced to appear at an *auto-de-fé*, and afterwards suffer a year's imprisonment in a monastery; but that the busts were in safety.

Fray Domingo de Guzman.

At Seville, Fray Domingo de Guzman, also a new-made prisoner, was likewise known to the Emperor. Of him, however, on hearing of his arrest, Charles merely remarked that he might have been locked up as much for being an idiot as for being a heretic.[1]

Arrest of Const. Ponce de la Fuente.

A more illustrious victim of the Andalusian Holy Office was Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, magistral-canon of Seville, and famous as a scholar, as a pulpit orator, and as author of several theological works much esteemed both in Italy and Spain. He had attended the Emperor in Germany as his preacher and almoner, and one of his writings was, at this time, on the imperial bookshelf at Yuste.[2] For him Charles entertained more respect, and upon hearing that he had been committed to the castle of Triana, observed, "If Constantino be a heretic, he will prove a great one." Like Cazalla, the canon, after thundering against reform in the land of reform, had returned to Spain a reformer. For awhile his errors had escaped detection, and he was

[1] Sandoval, ii. p. 829.

[2] Supra, chap. v. p. 172.

CH. IX.
1558.

nearly being appointed confessor to Philip II.[1] His immediate "merits," for so the Inquisition, with grim irony, called the acts or opinions which qualified a man for the stake, were certain heretical treatises in his handwriting which had been dug, with his other papers, out of a wall.

Notwithstanding the crowded state of the prisons, the Inquisition did not see fit to vary, during this year, the monotony of the bull-fights by indulging the people with an *auto-de-fé*. The Emperor was therefore dead before the unhappy clergymen, who had stood by his bed in sickness and conversed with him at table in health, were sent to expiate with their blood their speculative offences against the Church. Dr. Cazalla was one of fourteen heretics who were "relaxed,"[2] or, in secular speech, burnt, in May 1559, at Valladolid, before the Regent and her court.[3] Unhappily for his party and for his own fair fame, the poor chaplain behaved with a pusillanimity very rare amongst Spaniards when brought face to face with inevitable death, or amongst men

Execution of Dr. Cazalla,

[1] Cabrera. See Amelot de la Houssaye, i. p. 284; L. de Salazar, *Hist. de la casa de Silva*, i. p. 466.

[2] "*Relejado*," released. Perhaps the word used by the Duke of Alba to the Countess of Egmont the day before Egmont's execution, when he told her that "her husband should be released." See Motley, vol. ii. p. 173.

[3] In the church of Valladolid, in April 1788, Mr. Eden, the British Minister, saw the lists of persons formerly burnt as heretics by the Inquisition still hung up. *Journal and Correspondence of William, Lord Auckland*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1861, vol. ii. p. 16.

who suffer for conscience' sake. Denying the crime of "dogmatising," as the Inquisition well called preaching, he confessed that he had held heretical opinions, and abjectly abjured them all. His tears and cries, as, in his robe, painted with devils, he walked in the sad procession and stood upon the fatal stage, moved the contempt of his companions, amongst whom his brother and sister had also come calmly to die. At the price of this humiliation he obtained the grace of being strangled before he was cast into the flames. A report had spread amongst the populace that he had declared that, if his penitence and sufferings should obtain him salvation, he would appear the day after his death riding through the city on a white horse. The inquisitors, availing themselves of a rumour of which they perhaps were authors, next day turned a white horse loose in the streets, and caused it to be whispered that the steed was indeed ridden by the departed doctor, although not in such shape as to be visible to every carnal eye.[1] Fray Francisco de Roxas, amidst a band in which the shepherd and the muleteer were associated in suffering and in glory with the noble knight and the delicate lady, died bravely, in October 1559, at Valladolid, in the presence of Philip II. Fray Domingo de Guzman suffered at Seville in 1560, in

of Fray Francisco de Roxas,

and Fray Domingo de Guzman.

[1] A. de Castro, *Spanish Protestants*, p. 98.

CH. IX. 1558.

that *auto-de-fé* in which English Nicholas Burton also perished, and in which Juana Bohorques, a young mother who had been racked to death a few weeks before, was solemnly declared to have been innocent by her murderers themselves. Constantino Ponce de la Fuente, confessing to the proscribed doctrines, but refusing to name his disciples, had been thrown into a dungeon, dark and noisome as Jeremiah's pit, far below the level of the Guadalquivir, where a dysentery soon delivered him from chains and the hands of his tormentors. "Yet did not his body," says a churchman, writing some ages after, in the true spirit of orthodoxy, and with all the bitterness of contemporary gall,[1] "for this escape the avenging flames." At this same *auto-de-fé* of 1560, they burned the exhumed bones of Constantino, together with his effigy, modelled with some care, and imitating, with outstretched arms, the attitude in which he was wont to charm the crowds that gathered beneath his pulpit at Seville.

Death of Const. Ponce de la Fuente.

During the progress of the hunt after heretics Charles frequently conversed with his confessor and the prior on the subject which lay so near his heart. So keen was his hatred of the very name of heresy, that he once reproved Regla for citing, in his presence, in proof of some indifferent topic, a

Emperor's hatred of heresy.

[1] Nicolas Antonio, art., *Constantino Ponce de la Fuente.*

His regrets for having spared life of Luther.

passage from a book by one Juan Fero, because that forgotten writer was then known to have been no Catholic.[1] In looking back on the early religious troubles of his reign, it was ever his regret that he did not put Luther to death when he had him in his power. He had spared him, he said, on account of his pledged word, which, indeed, he would have been bound to respect in any case which concerned his own authority alone; but he now saw that he had greatly erred in preferring the obligation of a promise to the higher duty of avenging upon that arch-heretic his offences against God. Had Luther been removed, he conceived that the plague might have been stayed, but now it seemed to rage with ever-increasing fury. He had some consolation, however, in recollecting how steadily he had refused to hear the points at issue between the Church and the schismatics argued in his presence. At this price he had declined to purchase the support of some of the Protestant princes of the empire, when he first took the field against the Saxon and the Hessian: he had refused to buy aid at this price, even when flying with only ten horsemen before the army of Duke Maurice. He knew the danger, especially for the unlearned, of

[1] Salazar de Mendoça, *Dignidades de Castilla*, fol., Madrid, 1617, fol. 161.

CH. IX.
1558.

parleying with heretics who had their quivers full of reasons so apt and so well-ordered. Suppose one of their specious arguments had been planted in his soul, how did he know that he could ever have got it rooted out?[1] Thus did a great man misread the spirit of his time; thus did he cling, to the last, to the sophisms of blind guides who taught that crass ignorance was saving faith, and that the delectable mountains of spiritual perfection were to be climbed only by those who would walk with stopped ears and hoodwinked eyes.

Archbishopric of Toledo.

In this year, Cardinal Siliceo having gone to St. Ildefonso's bosom, the vacant archiepiscopal throne of Toledo became a mark for the intrigues of every ambitious churchman within the dominions of Spain. The Grand-Inquisitor, busy as he was with his massacre of the innocents, of course found time to urge his claim to a seventh mitre. But his niggard responses to the appeals of the needy crown were still remembered both at Bruxelles and at Yuste; so for him promotion came neither from the north nor from the west.

Fr. Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda made Archbishop.

The golden prize was given to Fray Bartolomé Carranza de Miranda, a name which stands high on the list of the Wolseys of the world, of men remembered less for the splendid heights to which

[1] Sandoval, ii. 829.

they had climbed than for their sudden and signal fall. From a simple Dominican monk, Carranza had risen to be a professor at Valladolid, a leading doctor of Trent, prior of Palencia, provincial of Spain, and prime adviser of Philip II. in that short-lived return to Popery which Spanish churchmen loved to call the restoration of England. In England the ruthless black friar had been a mark for popular vengeance; and Oxford, Cambridge, and Lambeth long remembered how he had preached the sacrifice of the mass, how he helped to dig up the bones of Bucer, and how he had aided at the burning of Cranmer. For these services his master had rewarded him with the richest see in Christendom; and he came to Spain in the summer to take possession of his throne, little dreaming that his implacable and indefatigable rival, the inquisitor Valdés, was already preparing the indictment which was to make his primatical reign a long disgrace.

Account of him.

Carranza had been well known to the Emperor, who had given him his first step on the ladder of promotion by sending him to display his lore and his eloquence at the Council of Trent. There he acquitted himself so well, that Charles offered him, first the Peruvian bishopric of Cuzco, next the post of confessor to Prince Philip, and lastly the bishopric of the Canaries. His refusal of all these dignities

CH. IX. 1558.

somewhat surprised his patron; and this surprise became displeasure when he learned that the refuser had accepted the mitre of Toledo. William, one of the Emperor's barbers, related that he had heard his master say, "When I offered Carranza the Canaries he declined it; now he takes Toledo. What are we to think of his virtue?" These feelings were doubtless fostered by his confessor, Regla, who, as a Jeronymite, naturally hated a Dominican, and afterwards proved himself one of the bitterest enemies of the persecuted prelate. The truth is, that Carranza, though a successful priest, seems to have been an honest and unambitious man; he carried his reluctance so far beyond the bounds of decent clerical coyness as to recommend to the King three eminent rivals as better qualified than himself for the primacy;[1] and the great crosier was thrust by Philip into his unwilling hand on the ground that he was of all men best fitted to keep the wolf of heresy from the door of the true fold.

Jealousy of Valdés.

The Emperor had given away, in his time, too many mitres to wonder long at the worldly-mindedness of a churchman. Valdés, also, was too astute to attempt to injure his rival merely by alleging

[1] Salazar de Miranda, *Vida de Fr. Bart. de Carranza y Miranda*, 12mo, Madrid, 1788, p. 34.

against him a vice inherent in their common cloth. He stabbed, therefore, at what was then the tenderest spot in any reputation, priestly or laic, by casting a suspicion on his orthodoxy. Before the unconscious Archbishop arrived at court, the inquisitor secretly informed the Regent that many of the captive heretics had made very unpleasant confessions respecting the opinions of the new Primate; and that the King ought to be put on his guard against him; and he gave a glimpse into the ways of his tribunal, by adding, that although nothing substantial had yet been advanced, still, had as much been said of any other person, that person would already have been taken into custody. The Infanta of course forwarded this intelligence to Yuste, and the Emperor expressed a wish to hear more of the matter, desiring, however, that it should be handled with the greatest caution and reserve.

Carranza's reception at Valladolid.

Carranza sailed from Flanders on the 24th June, but being detained by contrary winds on the English shore, he did not land at Laredo until the beginning of August. On the 13th of that month he kissed the Regent's hand at Valladolid, where he resided for some weeks in great honour in the noble convent of San Pablo, with his brethren of the Order of St. Dominic. Caressed and consulted both by the Princess and by the knot of priests who were plotting his ruin, he took his seat several times in the

CH. IX.
1558.

Council of State, and also at the council board of the Inquisition. To the latter tribunal he gave an account of his proceedings against heresy in Flanders, and against the Spaniards who had fled thither from spiritual justice; and he assisted the Inquisitor-General with advice upon the new laws to be promulgated against the press. He was, however, desirous of proceeding to his diocese, being unwilling to break, at the outset of his episcopal career, the rules which he had laid down in his tract, written when he was a simple monk, on the residence of bishops, a tract which gained him many enemies among the hierarchy,[1] and which must have been peculiarly distasteful to the absentee of Seville. It was determined, therefore, that he should visit Yuste, as he went to Toledo, in order to lay before the Emperor some evidence on the quarrel between his eldest daughter Mary and her husband, Maximilian, King of Bohemia, whom she charged with inconstancy, and wished to be parted from. This affair being referred to the decision of Charles, he was desirous of having an account of it from a prudent and impartial witness.

War in Flanders.

The war in Flanders had continued to smoulder on during the spring with few actions worthy of record, and little loss or gain to either party. At

[1] *Noticia de la vida de Bart. Carranza de Miranda*, par D. M. S., 8vo, Madrid, 1845, p. 7.

the end of April the French must have made a movement causing some alarm at Bruxelles, for on the 3rd May a Cabinet courier, named Espinosa, was sent off by land to Spain, with a cipher despatch concealed in his stirrup-leathers. Galloping across the enemy's country without let or hindrance, he reached Valladolid on the 10th, and was sent on by the Princess to carry his news, and tell his story at Yuste. The Emperor gave him a long audience, and overwhelmed him with questions about the King's measures of defence, which appeared to the old soldier to be better than usual. "He asked," wrote the secretary, "more questions than were ever put to the damsel Theodora,"[1] a Christian slave, whose beauty and various erudition charmed a king of Tunis, in an old and popular Spanish tale.[2] In a few weeks, however, the Duke of Guise marched upon the Moselle, and stormed the important and strongly fortified town of Thionville, putting the greater part of the garrison to the sword, and expelling the inhabitants in order to give their homes to a colony of his old clients of Metz. This loss was severely

Duke of Guise takes Thionville.

[1] "Le hizo," said Gaztelu, "mas preguntas que se pudieran hacer á la donzella Theodor."—Gaztelu to Vazquez, 18th May 1558. Gonzalez MS.

[2] The *Historia de la donzella Theodora* was a popular story, written, no one seems to know when, by one Alfonso, an Aragonese. Antonio assigns a date neither to the book nor the author. The earliest edition cited by Brunet is that of 1607. The tale was afterwards dramatised by Lope de Vega. Ticknor, *Hist. of Span. Lit.*, ii. 312.

CH. IX.
1558.

felt by the Emperor, who continued to deplore it, until he was comforted by the tidings of the victory at Gravelines.

Battle of Gravelines

The Maréchal de Thermes, governor of Calais, wishing to illustrate his new baton by some gallant service, had undertaken a foray into the Spanish Netherlands. Having carried fire and sword, rapine and rape, along a considerable length of coast, he was at last met by Egmont, near the town of Gravelines, on the banks of the Aa. The battle, fought for several hours with great obstinacy, was at last turned against the lilies by the sudden appearance of an English sailor, who mingled in the fray with all the effect of Neptune in an Homeric field. Cruising along the coast with twelve small vessels, Admiral Malin, hearing the firing, put into the river, and galled the flank of the French with broadsides so unexpected and severe, that they were soon in headlong flight. Two hundred prisoners were reserved as curious trophies by the English tars; the greater part of the army was cut off in detail by the furious peasantry; the Maréchal and his chief officers fell into the hands of Egmont; and the battle, which was the last event of any importance in the war, had a considerable influence in bringing about the peace of Cateau-Cambresis in the following winter. But the Emperor had, as usual, to lament the opportunities wasted by his son; and

gained by the Spaniards.

often observed, that now was the time to have invested Calais, when the enemy was disheartened, the garrison weakened, and the governor taken. Luis Quixada entertained the same idea, which, however, does not appear to have struck any of the leaders in Flanders. The chamberlain was especially delighted to hear of the capture of Monsieur de Villebon, one of the Maréchal's lieutenants. "I knew him very well," he wrote to Vazquez, "when he served under the Duke of Vendôme in Picardy; and when we were at Hesdin, he was quartered in a town only two or three leagues off, so that we frequently corresponded by letters. I should have taken him myself one day, had a spy given me intelligence two hours sooner. He is a man quite able to pay a ransom of twelve or fifteen thousand crowns." [1]

Turkish fleet on coast of Spain.

Meanwhile, the dreaded navy of Solyman was again menacing the shores of Spain. Early in spring a cloud of Turkish sail had been seen so far in the west that it was thought necessary to victual and strengthen the garrison of Goleta. On the 5th May, Don Luis de Castelvi came to Yuste to report on the affairs of Italy, and brought with him such intelligence of a treaty which was said to be then forming between France and the Pope, the Venetian and the Turk, that the Emperor ordered him to

[1] Quixada to Vazquez, 17th August 1558.

CH. IX.
1558.

he was supposed to have gone to Marseilles to water and victual his fleet.

Measures of defence.

Meanwhile, all precautions were taken to strengthen the defences of the eastern coast. Twelve hundred men were thrown into Perpignan, and Don Garcia de Toledo was sent to take the command of that important frontier post. The defence of the coast of Andalusia was entrusted to the Count of Tendilla. The Duke of Maqueda was ordered to exercise the closest vigilance over the Moriscos of Catalonia and Valencia, especially at Denia and Alicante; a force of five or six hundred men was appointed to guard the sierras of Espadon and Bernia, strongholds of the suspected race; and a few watch-towers were repaired and entrenched for rallying posts, strict orders being also issued to the commanders to destroy them as soon as the danger was past, lest the defences of the Christian should become offensive positions of the Moor. The Emperor was much distressed at the fall of Ciudadella. His anxiety made him forget his ailments; and such was his eagerness for news, that he gave orders that he was to be called at whatever hour of the night a courier should arrive from the Mediterranean. The alarm did not subside until the 17th August, when tidings came from Catalonia that the Ottoman flag had disappeared from that part of the sea, and that Don Francisco de Cordova, son of the governor of Oran,

Perpignan:

Andalusia:

Catalonia:

Valencia.

Emperor's distress about Ciudadella.

who had been hovering on the Pacha's wake with two galleys of the Order of St. John, reported that the fleet had at last steered for the Levant. On the same day it was also announced at Yuste that some reprisal for the damage done at Menorca had been made by the Duke of Alburquerque on the infidel's most Christian brother of France, by crossing the Bidassoa and burning St. Jean de Luz.

While the Turk was thus spreading terror along the coast of Spain, and troubling the repose of Yuste, the hero who was first to quell his pride, and set bounds to the dominion of the crescent, was waging predatory war upon the orchards of Quacos. Early in July, Quixada returned from Valladolid and Villagarcia, bringing with him his wife and household, and the future victor of Lepanto. During the journey, Doña Magdalena suffered greatly from the summer heat; but she was consoled for her fatigues by the kindness and courtesy of the Emperor. Immediately on her arrival, he sent one of his attendants to call upon her with presents, and to bid her welcome to her new home; and some days after, when she came to Yuste to kiss his hand, he received her with marked favour. In this visit she was doubtless attended by Don John of Austria, who passed for her page, and the Emperor was said to be much pleased with the beauty and manners of his boy. But so strictly was the secret of his birth

Return of Quixada to Yuste with his wife and Don John of Austria.

CH. IX. 1558.

kept, that no mention of his existence is to be found in any extant correspondence between Yuste, Valladolid and Bruxelles, during the lifetime of the Emperor. Yet his real parentage was suspected in the country, probably on account of the attention which he met with at Yuste, and which was not likely to escape the notice of the idle and gossiping friars and Flemings. The crossbow with which the future admiral had dealt destruction amongst the sparrows and larks in the cornfields about Leganes, found ampler and nobler game in the woodlands of the Estremaduran hills. But he sometimes varied his sport by making forays upon the gardens of Quacos, which the peasants, nothing daunted by his whispered rank, resented by pelting him with stones when they caught him in their fruit trees.[1]

Illness of the Regent.

Early in July the Emperor was alarmed by hearing of the illness of his daughter, the Princess-Regent, who was attacked by a fever, which prevented her attention to business for a few days. He expressed great anxiety on her account, and ordered frequent couriers to bring him intelligence of her state, which, however, was never dangerous, and soon approached convalescence. Amongst the last public measures which Juana brought under the notice of her father, was a scheme for changing

[1] Ponz, *Viage de España*, vii. p. 140.

the seat of government. She was in favour of a change, as she considered Valladolid neither healthy nor conveniently situated. Many members of the Council of State were, however, opposed to it, "but you know," wrote the Infanta, "how these gentlemen prefer their ease and good lodging before all things." Madrid appeared to her the fittest place, were it not so disliked by the King; and she also mentioned the names of Toledo, Burgos, and Guadalaxara. The plan was not executed until some years after the return of Philip to Spain. The King having agreed that Don Carlos and his tutor should be sent to Yuste, and the Emperor being willing to receive them, the Princess proposed that she should accompany her nephew thither, in order to visit her father, and confer with him on this question of the capital, and other business of state. The Queen of Hungary was likewise to be of the party, it being the wish of Philip that the Emperor should persuade her to return to the Low Countries, and once more assume the government. The removal of the heir-apparent, and the visit of the royal ladies to Yuste, were, however, prevented by the fatal illness of the Emperor.

Her proposal to change the capital of Spain.

Another affair which weighed on the mind of the Princess at this time, was a dispute between her and the Council of State. A young courtier, the Adelantado of Canary, after making love to one of

Affair of the Adelantado of Canary.

CH. IX.
1558.

her ladies, finally proposed for her hand, and was accepted. But failing in the performance of his promise, he met the complaint made by the fair one to the Regent, by protesting that the matter was a joke, and that he had never considered it as serious. The Princess, though she preferred her ladies to become brides of heaven rather than wives of mortals, was highly indignant with the lord of Canary, and caged him in the tower of Medina del Campo. The Council of State here interfered, alleging that it had a right to be consulted in any similar case of imprisonment. The Regent therefore remitted the affair to the Emperor, entreating him, however, to decide in her favour; for it much concerned, as she conceived, the dignity of her household, that young men should not be permitted to plight their troth to her ladies, before witnesses and in her very antechamber, and then flutter off on the plea that the thing was a jest. The award of the Emperor, and the after-fate of the false wooer and forsaken damsel, have not been recorded.

Death of the prior of Yuste.

In the spring of this year the monotony of the conventual life at Yuste was broken by the death of the prior. He died at Lupiana, where he had gone to attend the chapter of his order. That chapter had elected as general the prior of Cordoba, who likewise died before the electors separated. The new general being Fray Juan de Açaloras, one of

the Emperor's preachers, the friars of Yuste petitioned the Emperor to request him to waive his privilege, and permit them to choose their new prior. But Charles, to the great delight of his household, at once, and rather drily, refused to meddle in the matter, or to interfere with the rules of their order; and the vacant post was therefore given, in the usual way, to Fray Martin de Angulo, a monk of Guadalupe.

Emperor refuses to interfere in election of his successor.

Fray Martin de Angulo appointed.

Don Luis de Avila was, as usual, a frequent guest at Yuste. During this year he had a law-suit in hand, regarding his jurisdiction as lieutenant of the castle of Plasencia; and he of course attempted to enlist in his cause the favour of the Emperor, who would, however, say nothing until he had heard the other side of the story from the secretary of state. The Grand Commander seems also to have been applying for employment; and a false report was spread in July that he had actually set out for Flanders by order of the King. The Bishop of Avila paid a visit in April, which was followed in May by his translation to the wealthy see of Cordoba; and in June the Bishop of Segovia offered to come and give thanks for his promotion to the archbishopric of Santiago, but was excused the journey by the Emperor. Oropesa spent part of the summer at Xarandilla, where he, his brother, and his two sons, had the misfortune to be attacked

Visits of Don Luis de Avila:

the Bishop of Avila:

Count of Oropesa:

CH. IX.
1558.

Garcilasso de la Vega:

with fever all at one time. The Count and the other Toledos were frequently at Yuste. Garcilasso de la Vega, probably a nephew of the poet, came about the middle of August. Having been sent as ambassador to the Holy See, on the accession of Philip II., he was arrested by the hasty old pontiff, because of a letter addressed by him to the Duke of Alba, informing the Duke that the Spanish party in Rome was so strong that the surprise and occupation of the city would be easy,[1] which was found, or pretended to be found, by Paul in the boot-sole of an intercepted courier. This outrage had been the first signal for hostilities. The Emperor's wrath with the Roman policy of Alba and Philip having cooled down, he received Garcilasso with much courtesy, questioned him minutely about Italian politics during two long audiences, listened with great interest to his relation, and afterwards said he was greatly pleased by the envoy's way of telling his story. He kept him at Yuste for ten days, and sent him to Valladolid charged with messages to the Queen of Hungary, and the task of explaining her brother's reasons for desiring her return to the government of the Netherlands. This mission fulfilled, he was ordered to come back and

[1] Antonio de Herrera, *Primera parte de la Historia General del mundo desde el año* 1554 *hasta el de* 1570, lib. iii. cap. iv., large 8vo, Valladolid, 1606, p. 241.

CH. IX.
1558.

report the Queen's decision. Don Pedro Manrique, procurator to the Cortes from the city of Burgos, came on the 26th August, and was likewise graciously received, and dismissed with a letter to the King, one of the latest which the Emperor signed. The last visitor who found him in health was the Count of Urueña, Don Pedro Giron, afterwards first Duke of Ossuna, and, as Viceroy of Naples and in other posts, a personage of some importance at the court of Philip II. This grandee, who had but lately succeeded to the honours of his great house,[1] arrived on the night of the 26th at ten o'clock, "with a world of horses and servants," for whom Quixada found it very difficult to provide lodging. The Emperor received him very kindly, and the young noble took his departure immediately after having kissed hands—to be allowed to perform that ceremony being, as the chamberlain noted with wonder, "his sole business and only request."

Don Pedro Manrique:

Don Pedro Giron:

Father Borja paid his last visit to Yuste this summer, probably in July or August. He came, it is said, at the request of Charles, who desired the benefit of his spiritual counsels. It was, perhaps, at this time that the Emperor spoke to him of the

Fray Francisco Borja.

[1] His father, Don Juan Tellez Giron, fourth Count of Urueña or Ureña, as it was afterwards written, died on the 19th May 1558. Dr. Geronymo Gudiel, *Compendio de la familia de los Girones*, fol., Alcalá, 1577, fol. 121–122.

CH. IX.

1558.

The Emperor's *Memoirs.*

memoirs which he had drawn up of his journeys and campaigns.[1] They were not written, he said, for the sake of magnifying his own deeds, but for the sake of recording the truth; because he had observed in the histories of his time, that the authors erred as often from ignorance of the facts as from prejudice and passion. But he desired to know if his friend thought that a man's writing about his own actions at all, savoured too much of carnal vanity. The judgment of Borja on this case of conscience, if it were ever delivered, has not been preserved. Nor is the fate of the memoirs known.[2] In a letter addressed to Philip II., by Ruscelli, in 1561, they were spoken of as being in preparation for the press, and likely to be soon given to the world.[3] Brantôme, at a later date,

[1] Supra, chap. iii. p. 93, note, and chap. iv. p. 108.

[2] See infra, chap. xi. p. 432, and note.

[3] Published by Belle-Forest. See Bayle's *Dictionary*, art. Charles V. The letter itself will be found in *Epistres des Princes lequelles ou sont addressées aux Princes ou traitent les affaires des Princes*, recueilliées d'Italien par Hieron. Ruscelli, et mises en François par F. de Belle-Forest, 4to, Paris, 1572. The object of the letter seems to have been to inform Philip II. that Bernardo Tasso was at work on a life of the Emperor Charles V., and to ask for materials to assist him, and papers not already published; and to make his excuses for having appeared to have been implicated in the treason of the Prince of Salerno. Ruscelli says that he had told Bernardo Tasso two things, "L'une que le susdit Empereur Charles V. avoit escrit luy-même en François la pluspart des choses principales qu'il avoit mises en execution ainsi que feit jadis le premier César dressant les commentaires de ses gestes, et que d'heure à autre on s'attend de les voir en lumière mises en latin par Guillaume Marinde. L'autre qu'en Espagne on tient ordinairement un chroniquer;"

CH. IX. 1558.

expressed an author's surprise that a literary venture so safe and so inviting, had been so long neglected by the booksellers.[1] It is not plain, therefore, that Borja is to be blamed for the loss, if indeed they are lost, of these precious commentaries of the Cæsar of Castile.

His anxiety as to his treatment by historians.

Charles neither felt nor affected that indifference about his place in history which many remarkable men have affected, and a few, perhaps, have felt. This very year, he had given a proof of the opposite sentiment. Florian de Ocampo, his veteran chronicler, was still at work, in his study at Zamora, on his general chronicle of Spain. Anxious for its preservation, the Emperor induced the Regent to address letters to the Bishop, the Dean, and the Corregidor of that city, requiring them, in the event of the old man's death, to take possession of his papers, amounting to 3,000 sheets, and to hold themselves responsible for their safety.[2]

Ocampo.

---

and fol. 199, Ruscelli at great length expatiates on the importance of this appointment, and urges on the King the propriety of creating a similar office for his Italian dominions, and suggests several Italian men of letters on whom, he conceives, it might be worthily bestowed.

The above letter will be found in *Lettere dei Principe*, 3 vols. 4to, Venetia, 1581, vol. iii. ff. 217–19. The passage quoted is at fo. 219 *recto*.

[1] Brantôme, *Discours sur Charles V.*; *Œuvres*, 8 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1787, iv. p. 37.

[2] Benito Cano, in his life of Ocampo, prefixed to the fine edition of the *Crónica*, 4to, Madrid, 1791, gives the end of March 1555 as the date of the chronicler's death, which date has been adopted by Rezabel

CH. IX.
1558.
Sepulveda.

Similar steps were taken to preserve the writings of Sepulveda, on whom the Emperor had himself urged the necessity of adopting such precautions when he visited Yuste the year before.[1] In the work of Ocampo, Charles, although perhaps he did not know it, had no personal interest; for the good canon, purposing to write the history of his patron, had begun his chronicle at Noah's flood, and after some thirty or forty years' labour was surprised by death, while narrating the exploits of the Scipios. Sepulveda had more judiciously broken ground nearer Ghent and the last year of the last century, and so left his Latin history of the Emperor completed. The fruit of Charles's foresight was therefore found after many days—in 1780, when the work was first given to the world.

Borja might, perhaps, have rejoiced in mortifying his own lust of literary fame, or even in undergoing the penance of historical slander. But he was hardly capable of advising the imperial author to

in his *Bibliot. de Escritores individuos de los colégios mayores*, 4to, Madrid, 1805, p. 234, and by Mr. Ticknor in his *Hist. of Span. Literature*, i. p. 555. But Gaztelu, in his letter in the Gonzalez MS., addressed to Vazquez on the 30th May 1558, orders precautions to be taken about the *Crónica* of Ocampo, "in case of the old man's death"—"*si occurria su fallecimiento, estando ya tan viejo.*" Another letter (9th July) suggests that the measures taken by the Regent respecting Ocampo's papers should also be taken respecting Sepulveda's, *both* writers being so old. Ocampo must therefore have been alive for some time after May 1558.

[1] Supra, chap. vii. p. 231.

put his manuscript into one of his Flemish fireplaces. In his dealings with royalty the stern Jesuit had not quite cast off, or on occasion he could resume, ways and language befitting the chamberlain's gold key. To one of the Emperor's devout queries he replied in a style of courtly gallantry, which sounds strange in the mouth of Father Francis the Sinner, and which would have done credit to some later Jesuit, appointed to labour in the vineyard of Versailles. Narrating the course of his penances and prayers, Charles asked him whether he could sleep in his clothes; "for I must confess," added he contritely, "that my infirmities, which prevent me from doing many things of the kind that I would gladly do, render this penance impossible in my case." Borja, who practised every kind of torment on his body, or, as he called it, his "beast," and who in early life had in one year fasted down a cubit of his girth, eluded the question by an answer no less modest than dexterous. "Your Majesty," said he, "cannot sleep in your clothes, because you have watched so many nights in your mail. Let us thank God that you have done better service by keeping those vigils in arms than many a cloistered monk who sleeps in his shirt of hair."

Courtly reply of Borja.

During his brief stay at Yuste, the Jesuit won a new ally to his cause in Doña Magdalena de Ulloa, whose mind was deeply touched by his pious walk

CH. IX.

1558.

Recollections of him in the Vera.

and conversation. The seed thus sown by the wayside sprang up long afterwards in the substantial shape of three colleges built and endowed for the company by that good and devout lady. Almost a hundred years later, the fame of the third general of Jesus still lingered in the Vera. In 1650, the centenarian of Guijo used to tell how he had seen the Emperor, the Count of Oropesa, and Father Francis in the woods between that village and Xarandilla, and point out a great tree under which they had made a repast, of which he, a loitering urchin, had been permitted to gather up the crumbs. But of the individual aspect of that remarkable group his memory had preserved nothing for the third generation except the dark robe and the "meek and penitent face of him whom we called the holy duke."[1]

[1] Cienfuegos, *Vida de F. Borja*, fol., Madrid, 1726, p. 270.

CHAPTER X.

THE DEATH OF THE EMPEROR.

Emperor's health in spring,

DURING the spring of 1558, the Emperor's health recovered from its winter's decline. At the end of March, Dr. Mathys, in his usual solemn style, informed the secretary of state that he considered His Majesty well enough to leave off his sarsaparilla and liquorice-water. In May he was living as usual, and eating voraciously. His dinner began with a large dish of cherries, or of strawberries, smothered in cream and sugar; then came a highly seasoned pasty; and next the principal dish of the repast, which was frequently a ham, or some preparation of rashers, the Emperor being very fond of the staple product of bacon-curing Estremadura. "His Majesty," said

CH. X.
1558.
and summer.

the doctor, "considers himself in very good health, and will not hear of changing his diet or mode of living; trusting too much to the force of habit, and to the strength of his constitution, which, in bodies full of bad humours, like his, frequently breaks down suddenly, and without warning."[1] His hands occasionally troubled him, and his fingers were sometimes ulcerated. But his chief complaint was of the heat and itching in his legs at night, which he endeavoured to relieve by sleeping with them uncovered; a measure whereby temporary ease was purchased at the expense of a chill, which crept into the upper part of his body, in spite of blankets and eider-down quilts. Later in the summer he had some threatenings of gout, and his appetite diminished so much, that he sometimes lived for days on bread and conserves. It is evident, however, that Quixada, an excellent judge of his master's symptoms, not only apprehended no danger, but considered that his life might be prolonged for years; else he would never have put himself to the trouble and expense of bringing his family down to Estremadura. On his arrival he reported favourably of the Emperor's health, spirits, and looks. Yet Doña Magdalena had not been many weeks in her new abode at Quacos, when a bell, tolling from

[1] Mathys to Vazquez, 18th May 1558.

amongst the woods of Yuste, announced that she might prepare for her return to Villagarcia.

Physician becomes alarmed in August.

It was not until the 9th August that the physician became seriously alarmed about the state of his patient. To cure the uneasy sensations in his legs at night, Charles had had recourse to cold bathing, by way of a repellant, regardless of the remonstrances of Mathys. "I would rather," he said, "have a slight fever, than suffer this perpetual itching." In vain the doctor observed that men were not allowed to choose their own maladies, and that some worse evil might happen to him if he used so dangerous a remedy. The repellant system did not answer; the patient's legs continuing to itch, and his throat being choked with phlegm. Still he was able to attend to business, and sufficiently alive to minor matters to be much annoyed at a frost which killed some melons of a peculiarly choice kind, that were ripening for his table. On the 16th and 17th August he was seized with violent purgings and with pains in the head, which bore a suspicious resemblance to gout. But as these symptoms soon subsided, he was supposed to have caught cold by sleeping, as the nights were getting chilly, with open doors and windows. Much illness prevailed in the Vera, and so many of the household were on the sick list, that Quixada was obliged to be at the palace at daybreak, and did not get

CH. X.
1558.

home to Quacos till nine in the evening. The weather was very changeable and trying to delicate frames. The cold of the early part and middle of the month was succeeded by terrific storms of wind and thunder, in which twenty-seven cows were struck dead by lightning, as they pastured in the forest.

Emperor's attention to religious rites.

About this time, according to the historian of St. Jerome, the Emperor's thoughts seemed to turn more than usual upon religion and its rites. Whenever, during his stay at Yuste, any of his friends, of the degree of princes or knights of the Fleece, had died, he had ever been punctual in doing honour to their memory, by causing their obsequies to be performed by the friars; and these lugubrious services may be said to have formed the festivals of his gloomy life in the cloister. The daily masses said for his own soul were always accompanied by others for the souls of his father, mother, and wife. But now he ordered further solemnities of the funeral kind to be performed in behalf of these relations, each on a different day, and attended them himself, preceded by a page bearing a taper, and joining in the chaunt, in a very devout and audible manner, out of a tattered prayer-book.

These rites ended, he asked his confessor whether he might not now perform his own funeral, and so do for himself what would soon have to be done for

him by others. Regla replied that His Majesty, please God, might live many years, and that when his time came these services would be gratefully rendered, without his taking any thought about the matter. "But," persisted Charles, "would it not be good for my soul?" The monk said that certainly it would; pious works done during life being far more efficacious than when they were postponed till after death. Preparations were therefore at once set on foot; a catafalque which had served before on similar occasions was erected; and on the following day, the 30th August, as the monkish historian relates, this celebrated service was actually performed.[1] The high altar, the catafalque, and the whole church shone with a blaze of wax lights; the friars were all in their places, at the altars and in the choir, and the household of the Emperor attended in deep mourning. "The pious monarch himself was there, attired in sable weeds, and bearing a taper, to see himself interred and to celebrate his own obsequies."[2] While they were singing the solemn mass for the dead he came forward and gave his taper into the hands of the officiating priest, in token of his desire to yield his soul into the

Performs his own obsequies, 30th August.

[1] Gonzalez denies this, as it seems to me, on insufficient grounds, which I have discussed in the preface to these chapters. [See also *Don John of Austria*, 2 vols. roy. 8vo, London, 1883, p. 18, note 9.]

[2] Siguença, iii. p. 201.

CH. X.
1558.

hands of his Maker. High above, over the kneeling throng and the gorgeous vestments, the flowers, the curling incense, and the glittering altar, the same idea shone forth in that splendid canvas whereon Titian had pictured Charles kneeling on the threshold of the heavenly mansions prepared for the blessed.[1]

Many years before, self-interment had been practised by a bishop of Liège—Cardinal Erard de la Marck, Charles's ambassador to the Diet during his election to the imperial throne;[2] an example which may perhaps have led to the ceremonies at Yuste. For several years before his death, in 1528, did this prelate annually rehearse his obsequies and follow his coffin to the stately tomb which he had reared in his cathedral at Liège.[3]

The funeral rites ended, the Emperor dined in his western alcove. He ate little, but he remained for

[1] Supra, chap. v. p. 172.

[2] "And on the first Sunday in Lent, after this, a minstrel, Roger Wade by name, a crowder, solemnly celebrated his own interment, as though he had been dead, and had masses sung for his soul, both he himself and others in his company making offering, so that many persons marvelled thereat. And this he did because he put no trust in executors; but by reason of this act some persons of the religious orders would have withdrawn from his livery (or daily allowance of the necessaries of life) which he had bought from them for the term of his life; he, himself, however, died soon after Easter." *Chronicles of the Mayors and Sheriffs of London. The French Chronicle of London: translated, with Notes and Illustrations*, by Henry Thomas Riley, London 1863,—quoted in *Saturday Review*, London, August 29, 1863.

[3] On the tomb were these words: ERARDUS A MARKA, MORTEM HABENS RÆ OCULIS VIVENS POSUIT. Am. de la Houssaye, *Mémoires Historiques*, &c., 2 vols. 12mo, Amsterd., 1722, p. 186.

a great part of the afternoon sitting in the open air, and basking in the sun, which, as it descended to the horizon, beat strongly upon the white walls. Feeling a violent pain in his head, he returned to his chamber and lay down. Mathys, whom he had sent in the morning to Xarandilla to attend the Count of Oropesa in his illness, found him, when he returned, still suffering considerably, and attributed the pain to his having remained too long in the hot sunshine. Next morning he was somewhat better, and was able to get up and go to mass, but still felt oppressed, and complained much of thirst. He told his confessor, however, that the funeral service of the day before had done him good. The sunshine again tempted him into his open gallery. As he sat there, he sent for a portrait of the Empress, and hung for some time, lost in thought, over the gentle face, which, with its blue eyes, auburn hair, and pensive beauty, somewhat resembled the noble countenance of that other Isabella, the great Queen of Castile. He next called for a picture of Our Lord praying in the garden, and then for a sketch of the Last Judgment, by Titian. Having looked his last upon the image of the wife of his youth, it seemed as if he were now bidding farewell, in the contemplation of these other favourite pictures, to the noble art which he had loved with a love that cares, and years, and sickness could not quench, and

Taken ill next day.

Meditations on his wife's portrait

and other pictures.

CH. X.
1558.

that will ever be remembered with his better fame. Thus occupied, he remained so long abstracted and motionless, that Mathys, who was on the watch, thought it right to awake him from his reverie. On being spoken to, he turned round and complained that he was ill. The doctor felt his pulse, and pronounced him in a fever. Again the afternoon sun was shining over the great walnut tree, full into the gallery. From this pleasant spot, filled with the fragrance of the garden and the murmur of the fountain, and bright with glimpses of the golden Vera, they carried him to the gloomy chamber of his sleepless nights, and laid him on the bed from which he was to rise no more.

Laid on his death-bed.

Details of his illness.

The minute particulars of his last illness, which have been preserved by eye-witnesses, or by persons who had conversed with them, will be most conveniently grouped under the dates to which they belong. It was on the 31st August that the fever declared itself, but after going to bed that evening, his thirst subsided, and he felt easier.

Sept. 1. Making of his will.

September 1.—No great change took place in his condition. But he was aware that the hand of death was upon him, and wishing to finish his will, he ordered that the secretary of state should be immediately applied to for a royal license empowering Gaztelu to act on the occasion as a notary. Directions were at the same time given that couriers

and horses should be kept in readiness along the road, to ensure despatch in the communications between Valladolid and Yuste.

Sept. 2. *September* 2.—The Emperor awoke, complaining of violent thirst, and attempted to relieve it by drinking barley-water and sugar. Quixada begged leave to send for more doctors; the patient said he did not like to have many of them about him; but he at last agreed that Cornelio might be called in, from Cigales. During the day he dozed at intervals, and towards the afternoon his mind was observed to wander; but in the evening he had rallied sufficiently to confess and receive the Eucharist, after which, at half-past eight, the physician took from him nine or ten ounces of very black bad blood, which afforded considerable relief.

Dr. Cornelio sent for.

Sept. 3. Slight improvement. *September* 3.—He awoke refreshed, and altogether rather better. At eleven he took some refreshment, and drank some wine and water, and a little beer; and then he heard Gaztelu read that part of his will which related to his household. In the afternoon he was again bled in the hand. This evening Quixada determined to pass the night in the palace, which he did not again quit while his master continued to breathe.

Sept. 4. *September* 4.—The pain had left the Emperor's head, but the fever was still high. He regretted that more blood had not been taken from him, feel-

CH. X.
1558.

ing too full of it—an opinion from which the doctors dissented. During the whole day he was very restless. He had stripped off the jacket, under-waistcoat, and drawers which he usually wore in bed, and lay tossing in his shirt under a single silken coverlet; and he insisted on the door and windows of his room being kept open. He complained bitterly of thirst, which the permitted syrup-vinegar and manna seemed to aggravate rather than allay; and the doctors were obliged to allow him nine ounces of his favourite beer, which he drank eagerly, with apparent relief. Vomiting and a slight perspiration followed. Quixada was looking anxiously for Dr. Cornelio, and had sent on horses to wait on the road for his litter.

Sept. 5. Physic.

September 5.—Dr. Mathys administered to the Emperor a strong dose of rhubarb in three pills. He felt so much better that he gave orders that if the post-courier, who went out every afternoon at four, should meet Cornelio before he had accomplished half the journey, he was to tell him to go back. "But," said Quixada in his letter, "I shall take care that he does not meet him at all, unless it be very near this place."

Sept. 6. Delirium.

September 6.—The patient was worse again; very feverish all day, and in the afternoon delirious; but in the evening he was easier, and again sensible. An express arrived with a notary's license for Gaz-

telu, and letters from the Regent and the great officers of state full of grief for the Emperor's illness. The Princess was very anxious for leave to visit her father, but he would not consent to it. In the afternoon there was a storm, so violent, and accompanied with such unusual darkness, that the post could not be despatched.

Letters.

September 7.—No change. The post sent off with a double bag.

Sept. 7.

September 8.—Dr. Cornelio arrived, and with him Garcilasso de la Vega. The Emperor was neither better nor worse; Dr. Mathys stating the fact in a very long letter, which ended with the remark that the fever was not in itself dangerous, and might even prove beneficial, but that, the constitution of the patient considered, the result must be regarded with much doubt and apprehension. The sick man, however, was sufficiently easy and collected to receive Garcilasso, who had come laden with a heap of despatches, which were destined to remain unread; and to express the greatest satisfaction at learning that his sister, the Queen of Hungary, had accepted the government of the Netherlands. Gaztelu employed the day in drawing out in due form a codicil to be added to the will. In the afternoon the wind and rain again roared round the convent, and the post was once more detained by the violence of the tempest.

Sept. 8. Dr. Cornelio arrives.

Garcilasso brings despatches.

Codicil to will.

CH. X.
1558.
Sept. 9.

September 9.—The Emperor remained as before. A new gloom overspread the household in consequence of tidings from Africa, that Don Martin de Cordoba, Count of Alcaudete, and the army of Oran, had been cut to pieces by the infidels. For many years Viceroy of the Spanish dominions in Africa, and well skilled in the ways of the Moors both in policy and war, the ill-fated veteran was one of the most trusted counsellors of the Crown. During the spring and summer, the fortunes of a war between Hassan, Pacha of Algiers, son and heir of Barbarossa, and Halif, the new King of Fez, gave him hopes of turning Moslem quarrels to Christian advantage. Mostagan, a fortified town about twelve leagues to the east of Oran, was a prize upon which his hopes had been long fixed. About the middle of August, therefore, at the head of 6,400 men, and a considerable train of artillery, he marched thither, sending along the coast nine brigantines laden with munitions, and relying on promises of further aid from the King of Fez. But the expedition, which ought to have been a surprise, was ruined by the undue caution of its movements. The convoy was captured by an Algerine fleet; the Moorish ally proved faithless; the attack on Mostagan failed; and in their hasty retreat the weary, thirsty, and famished Christians were overtaken by the army of Hassan. At Mazagran the

News of defeat of Count of Alcaudete in Africa,

old Count, who had completely lost his head, was trampled to death in the gateway by his own terrified troops, and the greater part of his army fell beneath the Turkish scimitar and the Arab spear, or was sent to row in the galleys of Algiers. His son, Don Martin de Cordoba, was taken prisoner, and only a handful of fugitives escaped to tell their tale of disaster at Oran. With Alcaudete, who had been looked upon as a leader no less prudent than brave, fell many knights and nobles of Andalusia; and the fate of his expedition caused such mourning as had been unknown in Spain since the fatal day when that other Cordoba, the good knight of Aguilar, fell with his gallant band in the pass of the Red Sierra.[1] Quixada and Garcilasso, friends of many of the victims, were greatly astonished that a commander of so much experience should have put any trust in the punic promises of a Moor. They did not venture to break the news to the Emperor, knowing how keenly he would feel the reverse suffered by his son in the land of his own glory and misfortune.[2] He therefore went to the grave unconscious of the calamity which had be-

not broken to Emperor.

[1] L. de Marmol Carvajal, *Descripcion de Africa*, 3 tom., fol., Granada, 1573–99, ii. pp. 197–9. Fr. Diego de Haedo, *Historia de Argel*, fol., Valladolid, 1612, p. 174. Don Martin de Cordoba was ransomed, and lived to be Governor of Oran, and to revenge his father's death. A. Lopez de Haro, *Nobilario de España*, 2 tom., fol., Madrid, 1622, ii. p. 153.

[2] Supra, chap. iv. p. 137.

CH. X.
1558.

fallen Spain. No visible change had taken place in his condition, but he was able to hear the codicil of his will read, and to sign and seal it.

Emperor signs codicil.

Charles had made his will on the 6th June 1554, at Bruxelles. The codicil, from its great length, its minuteness, and the frequent recurrence of provisions to be observed in case he died before he should see his son, there being now no hope of such a meeting, appears to have been prepared some time before. But as it was read to him ere his trembling hand affixed the last stamp of his authority, it remains as a proof that one of his latest acts was to charge Philip, by his love and allegiance, and by his hope of salvation, "to take care that the heretics were repressed and chastised with all publicity and rigour, as their faults deserved, without respect of persons, and without regard to any plea in their favour." The rest of the paper is filled with directions for his interment, and with a list of legacies to forty-eight servants, and many thoughtful arrangements for the comfort of those who had followed him from Flanders. Although willing to send all his Protestant subjects to martyrdom, he watched with fatherly kindness over the fortunes of grooms and scullions. It is said that Fray Juan de Regla proposed that Don John of Austria should be named in the will as next heir to the crown, failing the Emperor's grandchildren; but if this incredible advice

Its recommendation to the King to put down heresy.

Regla's suggestions regarding Don John of Austria.

were given by the confessor, the dying man had energy enough left to reject it with indignation.[1]

Sept. 10.

September 10.—He was somewhat easier, although very weak, and able to take no nourishment, except a few spoonfuls of mutton-broth. He once more received the Eucharist, and confessed with great devoutness. Garcilasso was admitted to his bedside to take leave, and again was assured of the relief he felt in knowing that the Netherlands were to be governed by Queen Mary. Gaztelu wrote that it was His Majesty's particular desire that a safe-conduct should be immediately prepared for Dr. Cornelio and ten or twelve persons, who were to go to Flanders, but that it was to be kept secret for the present from the Queen, for good and sufficient reasons. Quixada, in his letter to Vazquez, said that it would be well that orders should be sent to him for his guidance, in case it should please God to make the sickness of His Majesty mortal.

Queen of Hungary consents to go to Flanders.

Sept. 11. Crisis in the fever.

September 11.—A crisis in the fever had been looked for on this day, and the doctors were of opinion that it was changing into what they called a double tertian. Don Luis de Avila came, and remained at Quacos.

Sept. 12.

September 12.—The patient had passed a better

[1] Salazar de Mendoça (*Dign. de Castilla*, fol. 161) says that Regla used to tell the story himself.

CH. X.

1558.

night, and was able to take some food; and hopes of a recovery began to be entertained.

Sept. 13. Patient worse.

September 13. — These hopes faded. He was decidedly worse. Nothing would remain on his stomach, and his weakness, and the state of his pulse, greatly alarmed the two physicians. His throat was constantly choked with phlegm, which, being too feeble to expectorate, he endeavoured to remove with his finger. Letters from the Regent and the Queen of Hungary continued to express their wish to go to Yuste. Quixada, writing in reply, said that His Majesty had always, since the beginning of his illness, been averse to this proposal, and that when he himself spoke of it again to-day, the Emperor shook his head, as if to say no. Had His Majesty been equal to any exertion, he would have also ventured to remind him that he ought formally to thank the Queen for consenting to return to Flanders, knowing, as he did, how glad and how grateful he had been on receiving the intelligence. But, in truth, he was unfit not only to write, but even to dictate a letter, or to attend to any business whatsoever. If the Archbishop of Toledo, therefore, was on the road to Yuste, he need not hurry himself. When he arrived, he must lodge either at a Dominican monastery, about a league off, or at Quacos, as no stranger could be put up at Yuste without the express orders of His Majesty.

September 15.—Rhubarb pills had been again administered with good effect, and hope was not yet extinguished. "But," adds Quixada, "you can hardly imagine how weak His Majesty is. We all of us do our best to anticipate his wants, and if our blood would do him good, we would give it most joyfully." Sept. 15.

September 16.—The doctors considered him in a slight degree better. Avila, on the other hand, thought him hanging between life and death. A courier came from Lisbon with letters from the Queen of Portugal, and to carry back news of the Emperor's health. Catherine was aware of the dangerous state of her brother, and she had given great alms for the benefit of his soul, and had ordered masses to be said for him in every church in the kingdom. Sept. 16.

September 17.—Mathys wrote that the Emperor had been seized with ague fits, the cold fits lasting much longer than the hot; that he vomited frequently and violently, "after which His Majesty lies unable to speak or move, and does not even ask for water to wash his mouth." Gaztelu informed the secretary of state that he was no better, and that certain moneys had arrived from Seville. Quixada wrote not only to Vazquez, but to the Regent and to the King. In each of the letters he said that the doctors now entertained little hope, and that the Sept. 17. Little hope.

CH. X. 1558.

Emperor's state was truly deplorable. To the King he gave a brief sketch of the codicil which had been added to the will. "The Emperor," he wrote, "having once expressed a desire to be buried here, and that the Empress should be brought from Granada to be laid beside him, I ventured to observe that this house was not of sufficient quality to be made the resting-place of such great sovereigns; upon which he said he would leave the matter in the hands of your Majesty." The chamberlain concluded by assuring the King that in the matter he knew of—perhaps alluding to Don John—he would use every precaution in the world until His Majesty came to Spain.

Sept. 18. *September* 18.—"The Emperor," wrote Mathys, "touched nothing to-day but a little chicken-broth and some watered wine; the phlegm in his throat was very troublesome." Quixada said that he had not spoken a word for twenty-four hours; and Avila gave it as his opinion that he was certainly worse, whatever the doctors might say.

Sept. 19. *September* 19.—Mathys announced that the hot and cold fits continued with great violence, and that his pulse was getting feebler and feebler. Dr. Cornelio had been ill and feverish all yesterday, and was no better to-day. At eight in the evening, Quixada wrote that a servant of the Archbishop of Toledo was just come to say that the Primate might

be looked for immediately; but it was now of no consequence when he arrived, as all hope of the Emperor being able to attend to business was past. Called to the sick-room, the writer laid his pen down, and resumed it in three-quarters of an hour. He wrote thus: "The doctors say, the fever rises and his strength sinks. Ever since noon I have been keeping them from giving him extreme unction. They have been with me again to say it is time, but I have sent them to feel his pulse once more; for I will not allow the thing to be done until the necessity for it is quite plain. Thrice have they thus tried to bury him, as it were, and it goes to my very soul to see it." The course of the pen was once more checked. "I had written thus far, when the doctors came, and urged me to make haste. We have therefore given His Majesty extreme unction. It seemed to me premature, but I yielded to the opinion of those who ought to know best. You will understand how I, who have served him thirty-seven years, feel at seeing him thus going. May God take him to heaven! But I say again that, to my thinking, the end will not be to-night. God be with him, and with us all! The ceremony is just now over, nine at night, Monday, September 19."

Emperor receives extreme unction.

There were two forms of administering this crowning rite, a longer form for churchmen and a briefer one for the laity. At the request of the prior, the

CH. X.
1558.

Emperor was asked by Quixada which of the two he preferred, and he chose to be treated in the ecclesiastical fashion. This involved the reading of the seven penitential psalms, a litany, and several passages of Scripture, through all of which the Emperor made the proper responses in an audible voice. After the service was over he appeared rather revived than exhausted by it.

Sept. 20.

September 20.—During the whole of the past night he had been attended by his confessor, and by the preacher Villalva, who frequently read aloud, at his request, passages from Scripture—usually from the Psalms. The psalm which he liked best was that beginning "*Domine! refugium factum es nobis.*"[1]

His last private conference with Quixada.

Soon after daybreak he signified his wish to be left alone with his chamberlain. When the door was shut upon the retiring clergy, he said, "Luis Quixada, I feel that I am sinking little by little, for which I thank God, since it is His will. Tell the King, my son, that I beg he will settle with my servants who have attended me to my death, that he will find some employment for William Van Male, and that he will forbid the friars of this convent to receive guests in the house." He then expressed his great regret at not being able to confer with the Archbishop of Toledo about the affair

[1] "Lord! Thou hast been our refuge" (Ps. xc. of our version).

between the King and Queen of Bohemia; and said he had intended to send an envoy to convey his opinion of the matter to Maximilian, but had waited until he should have heard the Primate's story. "As for what he told me to say of myself," said Quixada, in writing to Philip II., "I do not repeat it, being so nearly concerned in it; and other things I will also leave untold until it pleases God to bring your Majesty hither." The Emperor afterwards asked for the Eucharist. Fray Juan de Regla reminded him that after having received extreme unction, that sacrament was no longer necessary. "It may not be necessary," said the dying man, "but it is good company on so long a journey." About seven in the morning, therefore, the consecrated wafer was brought from the high altar of the church, followed by the friars in solemn procession. The patient received it, with great devoutness, from the hands of his confessor; but he had great difficulty in swallowing the sacred morsel, and afterwards opened his mouth, and made Quixada see if it had all gone down. In spite of his extreme weakness, he followed all the responses as usual, and repeated, with much fervour, the whole verse, "*In manus tuas Domine! commendo spiritum meum; redimisti nos Domine! Deus veritatis;*"[1] and he afterwards

He insists on receiving the Eucharist.

His devoutness.

[1] "Into Thy hands, O Lord, I commend my spirit; Thou hast redeemed us, O Lord God of truth."

CH. X.
1558.

remained kneeling in his bed for some time, and uttering ejaculations in praise of the Blessed Sacrament, so pious and so apposite that the friars conceived them to be prompted by the Holy Ghost. He was soon, however, seized with violent vomitings; and, during the greater part of the day, lay motionless, with closed eyes, but not unconscious of what went on around him.

Archbishop of Toledo arrives.

About noon the Archbishop arrived, and was immediately admitted to the sick-room, where he was recognised by the patient, who addressed a few words to him, and told him to go and repose himself.[1] The Count of Oropesa and his brother, Don Francisco, also came, although they were themselves hardly recovered from their illness. In the afternoon it was supposed that the Emperor's strength

[1] M. Bakhuizen van den Brink (*La Retraite*, pp. 47–50), on the authority of the friar, whose memoir he has analysed, gives a different account of the Archbishop's reception. Admitted to kiss the Emperor's hand on his arrival, he was refused admission in the afternoon, although Quixada, Oropesa, and Avila entreated Charles to see him. At last, Quixada told the confessor Regla that they all believed that he was the cause of these repeated refusals. Regla indignantly denied the imputation, and said he did not care if all the prelates of Spain were admitted; that it was obvious that the Emperor did not wish to see the Archbishop, and that at such a moment he did not think his wishes should be opposed; but, that no doubt might remain, he would himself, in the presence of Quixada and Avila, ask His Majesty to receive him. When the proposal was made, Charles replied only by a reproachful look; and the Archbishop at last effected an entrance later in the day with the other attendants, when it was reported that the Emperor was at the point of death. Having reached the bedside, the prelate expounded the psalm, *De Pro-*

was ebbing fast, and all his friends assembled at the palace. They found him perfectly calm and collected, for which he expressed great thankfulness, it having long been his dread that he might die out of his mind. A few words of consolation, touching forgiveness of sins, were at intervals addressed to him by the Archbishop—words which Regla treasured up and reported to the Inquisition. Sad and swarthy of visage, Carranza had also a hoarse, disagreeable voice. Hearing it on one of these occasions, the Emperor gave a sign of impatience so unmistakeable, that Quixada thought it right to interpose, and whisper, "Hush, my lord, you are disturbing His Majesty."[1] The Primate took the hint and was silent.

Towards eight o'clock in the evening, Charles

---

fundis. The Emperor listened in silence, but after he was gone out, said to Regla, "Did you observe the tone in which the Archbishop said, 'All is finished'?" On the whole, I am inclined to reject this story, as not agreeing with the evidence afforded by the Gonzalez MS. There I find no trace of the Emperor's unwillingness to see the Archbishop; and Quixada expressly states that he greatly regretted being too weak to talk with him on the delicate affair about which he had come. Had this unwillingness existed, would Quixada have concealed it from the King; or would the Archbishop have ventured to write to the Regent, as he did write, of his gracious reception? On the other hand, the confessor Regla, from whom, directly or indirectly, the story comes, being one of the Archbishop's chief accusers before the Inquisition, had an interest in making it appear that he had acted fairly by the Primate at Yuste, and that the Emperor, as well as himself, had been struck with his unorthodox exposition of the psalm.

[1] Siguença, iii. p. 203.

Closing scene.

asked if the consecrated tapers were ready. He was evidently sinking rapidly. The physicians acknowledged that the case was past their skill, and that all hope was over. Cornelio retired. Mathys remained by the bedside, occasionally feeling the patient's pulse, and whispering to the group of anxious spectators, "His Majesty has but two hours to live—but one hour—but half-an-hour." Charles meanwhile lay in a stupor, seemingly unconscious, but now and then murmuring a prayer and turning his eyes to heaven. At length he raised himself and called for "William." Van Male was instantly at his side, and understood that he wished to be turned in bed, during which operation the Emperor leaned upon him heavily, and uttered a groan of agony. The physician now looked towards the door, and said to the Archbishop, who was standing in its shadow, "*Domine, jam moritur!*" "My lord, he is now dying!" The Primate came forward with the chaplain Villalva, to whom he made a sign to speak. It was now nearly two o'clock in the morning of the 21st September, St. Matthew's Day. Addressing the dying man, the favourite preacher told him how blessed a privilege he enjoyed in having been born on the Feast of St. Matthias the Apostle, who had been chosen by lot to complete the number of the twelve, and in being about to die on the Feast of St. Matthew, who for Christ's sake had

forsaken wealth, as His Majesty had forsaken imperial power. For some time the preacher held forth in this pious and edifying strain. At last the Emperor interposed, saying, "The time is come: bring me the candle and the crucifix." These were cherished relics, which he had long kept in reserve for this supreme hour. The one was a taper from Our Lady's shrine at Montserrate, the other, a crucifix of beautiful workmanship, which had been taken from the dead hand of his wife at Toledo, and which afterwards comforted the last moments of his son at the Escorial. He received them eagerly from the Archbishop, and taking one in each hand, for some moments he silently contemplated the figure of the Saviour, and then clasped it to his bosom. Those who stood nearest to the bed now heard him say quickly, as if replying to a call, "*Ya, voy, Señor*,"—"Now, Lord, I am going." As his strength failed, his fingers relaxed their hold of the crucifix, which the Primate therefore took, and held it up before him. A few moments of death-wrestle between soul and body followed; after which, with his eyes fixed on the cross, and with a voice loud enough to be heard outside the room, he cried "*Ay, Jesus!*" and expired. Death.

Sept. 21. The clock had just struck two. In or near the chamber of death were assembled the prior, the chaplains, and Fray Pedro de Sotomayor; Quixada

CH. X. 1558.

and Gaztelu, and the two physicians; the Count of Oropesa, his brother Don Francisco de Toledo, his cousin Don Juan, and his uncle Don Diego, Abbot of Cabañas; Don Luis de Avila, and Archbishop Carranza. Don John of Austria, in his quality of page to Quixada, is likewise supposed to have witnessed the end of him whom he was afterwards so proud to call his sire. The Count, the Primate, the Grand Commander, the secretary, and the chamberlain, immediately retired to write letters to Valladolid. All agreed that the behaviour of the Emperor on his death-bed had been most pious and edifying. Avila recorded with pride that his master had given him a look of recognition just before the final struggle. Quixada said he had died as devoutly as the Queen of France, and in a manner worthy of the "greatest man that ever had lived, or ever would live, in the world."[1]

While the courtiers wrote their letters, the phy-

[1] "Y con él in Jhesus acabó el mas principal hombre que ha havido ni abrá." Quixada to Juan Vazquez, 26th Sept. 1558, Gonzalez MS. *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint au Monastère de Yuste*, par M. Gachard, 3 tomes, 8vo, Bruxelles, 1854. *Lettres inédites*, tom. i. p. 406. A few particulars of the death-bed scene I have gleaned from a letter, written on the 27th September 1558, by one of the monks of Yuste, which forms part of the *Colleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, por D. Martin Fernandez de Navarette, D. Miguel de Salva, y Don Pedro Sanz de Baranda, 8 vols. 4to, Madrid, 1842-46, vi. p. 667. The names both of the receiver and of the writer are unknown; but it is not improbable that the letter proceeded from the pen of Fray Hernando de Corral. See supra, chap. v. p. 150.

sicians remained beside the body, assuring themselves of the fact that the spirit had indeed departed. At intervals, during the hours of darkness, they applied their ears to the pulseless bosom, and held a mirror to the lips whence no breathing came. At daybreak, the corpse having been washed and anointed, was laid out on the bed, with the curtains drawn closely around. Four monks, chosen by the prior, kept watch in the chamber with tapers burning. Luis Quixada, his tender and anxious occupation gone, now had leisure to feel his loss and indulge his sorrow. For hours he remained weeping by the bed, which was now disturbed by no fevered tossings, and where the pillow needed smoothing no more. It was long ere the friars, overawed by his presence, yet stung by their super-feminine curiosity, found an opportunity of peeping within the curtains. When, at length, some pressing matter of the arrangements called the chamberlain from the room, the drapery was cautiously drawn aside, and the Jeronymites beheld the well-known face, in all the majesty of its deep repose. It had somewhat more of colour, and a more cheerful expression than it had lately worn; the body was habited in the robe in which Charles usually slept; a piece of black stuff was laid across the breast; and the head was covered with an embroidered cap. On the bosom was placed the crucifix of the

Grief of Quixada.

Curiosity of watching friars.

CH. X.
1558.

Empress; and at the head of the bed hung a beautiful picture of Our Blessed Lady.[1]

Preparations for interment.

In the course of the morning a messenger was sent to Plasencia for two hundred yards of black cloth for hangings for the church: and that day and the next were spent in making other preparations for the funeral. On the 23rd September, the licentiate Murga, of Quacos, being disabled by illness, the corregidor of Plasencia, Don Pedro Osorio Zapata, arrived, and in his presence the will was read, and a certificate of the death properly drawn up and signed. The body had meanwhile been embalmed by the physicians. Enclosed in a leaden coffin, within a massive outer case of chestnut-wood, and covered with a black velvet pall, it was then lowered through the bedroom window into the church, and placed on a canopied catafalque in front of the high altar.[2] The funeral services lasted

Body embalmed.

Funeral services.

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 53. The monk, of whose memoir the work is an analysis, was one of the four who watched by the corpse, which gives the greater interest and authority to his simple details.

[2] Sandoval (ii. p. 835) says that these preparations had been hardly made, when the corregidor of Plasencia arrived, with his clerks and constables, and, in spite of the friars' remonstrances, opened the coffin in order to identify the body. This story, so improbable in itself, would not be worth mentioning but for the fact, that Sandoval professes to have been guided, in his account of the Emperor at Yuste, by a paper drawn up by the prior. But as it is contradicted by the evidence of the Gonzalez MS., and not mentioned by Siguença, I have rejected it.

Another better known fable seems to be indebted for general circulation to Dr. Salazar de Mendoça. In his *Dignidades de Castilla*, p. 158,

and rites.

for three days, and the monks of three neighbouring convents swelled the company of mourners and the dirges for the dead. Each day mass was said by the Primate, assisted by the prior as deacon, and the prior of Granada as sub-deacon. The household of the Emperor displayed great feeling during the solemn rites, and Quixada, Gaztelu, and Avila were especially overcome with grief.

Funeral sermon by Villalva.

A funeral sermon was preached on the first day, by the eloquent Villalva, who had found an occasion worthy of all his powers. By desire of

---

he tells us that Charles, five years before his death, had caused his coffin to be made, with a winding-sheet, and other furniture of the tomb, and kept them in his bedroom, and looked at them nightly before retiring to rest. People who saw the box thought it must be filled with treasure, or important papers; and when asked about it, the Emperor would smile, and say it did contain something which he valued very highly. Salazar, a Spaniard, cites as his authority a Frenchman, Pierre Gregoire of Thoulouse, who tells the story at great length in his work, *De Reipublica*, 2 tom. fol., Lugduni, 1609, lib. vi. cap. iii. sect. 8, tom. i. p. 139, and says he found it "in oratione funebri ejus (Caroli V.) Sueuca"—a source which I have been unable to discover. Sandoval had heard it, but did not believe it. I have somewhere read a similar anecdote of the Emperor Maximilian I. See Dr. Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court of Austria*, 2 vols. 8vo, London, 1856, i. p. 27.

John Evelyn notes in his *Diary*, 13th May 1680—"I was at the funeral of old Mr. Shish, Master Shipwright of His Majesty's yard here [Deptford], an honest and remarkable man, and his death a public loss, for his excellent success in building ships (though altogether illiterate), and for breeding up so many of his children to be able artists. . . . It was the custom of this good man to rise in the night and to pray, kneeling in his owne coffin, which he had lying by him many years. He was borne in that famous yeare of the Gunpowder Plot, 1605."—*Memoirs of John Evelyn, comprising his Diary, and a Selection of his Letters*, 8vo, London, 1870, p. 417.

Of Sir William Pendarus, of Pendarus, in Cornwall [1720-30], Mrs.

CH. X.
1558.

Quixada the orator had kept notes, day by day, of what occurred at the imperial death-bed;[1] and these he now wrought into a discourse, so impassioned, that some of the hearers declared that it made their flesh creep, and their hair stand on end. In that part of his peroration in which it was the custom for a preacher to address himself to the more distinguished of his audience, the friar produced a great effect by apostrophising the Emperor as if he were still alive, and listening to the sermon in his accustomed place. In the earlier part of the service it had happened that a dispute had arisen between Avila and Quixada, about a chair which had been brought into the choir for the use of one of the noble worshippers, probably the

---

Delaney says—"One of his strange exploits was having a coffin made of copper (which one of his mines that year produced), and placed in the midst of his great hall; and instead of his making use of it as a monitor that might have made him ashamed and terrified at his past life, and induce him to make amends in future, it was filled with punch, and he and his comrades soon made themselves incapable of any sort of reflection. This was often repeated, and hurried him on to that awful moment he had so much reason to dread."—*Autobiography and Correspondence of Mary Granville* (Mrs. Delaney), edited by Lady Llanover, 3 vols. 8vo, London 1861, vol. i. p. 66.

[Mr. George William Manning, Rector of St. Petrock Minor, Cornwall, who died in his sixty-eighth year, on April 22, 1876, and who had advertised some time previously that he would reject all letters addressed "Reverend," a title which he declined to adopt, since dissenting ministers used it, requiring that he should be addressed as "P.P.," was exceedingly eccentric. He had his coffin made some years before his death, and slept either upon or in it for many months.]

[1] Los Santos, *Hist. de la Ord. de S. Gerónimo*, fol., Madrid, 1680, tom. iv. p. 516.

Count of Oropesa, who was in feeble health. The chamberlain declared that no person should sit in the presence of the Emperor, though in his coffin. The Grand Commander urged the necessity of the case, and the infirmities of his friend. "If he cannot stand or kneel like other people," said Quixada, "he had better stay away;" and he ordered a page to remove the chair. The matter was being debated when Villalva ascended the pulpit, and it helped to point the application of the sermon's close. The rule which Quixada enforced on others was scrupulously obeyed by himself. His close attendance, and that of Don John, at the ceremonies was remarked in the convent; and it was observed that neither of them, from morning to night, ever sat down.[1]

Sermons by Fr. Luis de S. Gregorio and Fr. Fr^co. de Angulo.

Sermons were also pronounced, on the second day, by Fray Luis de San Gregorio, prior of Granada, and, on the third, by Fray Francisco de Angulo, prior of S^ta. Engracia at Zaragoza. The imperial dust was then mingled with the common earth. "Let my sepulture," said the will of Charles, "be so ordered, that the lower half of my body lie beneath, and the upper half before, the high altar, that the priest who says mass may tread upon my head and my breast." But the clergy present being divided in

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, pp. 55, 56.

CH. X.
1558.

opinion as to the lawfulness of placing under the high altar a corpse not in the odour of sanctity, the matter was compromised by laying the coffin in a cavity made in the wall behind, so that it encroached on a very small portion of the holy ground.

Remarks on character of Charles.

So ended the career of Charles V., the greatest monarch of the memorable sixteenth century. The vast extent of his dominions in Europe, the wealth of his transatlantic empire, the sagacity of his mind, and the energy of his character, combined to render him the most famous of the successors of Charlemagne.[1] "Christendom," wrote a Venetian envoy[2] in 1551, in one of those curious secret reports addressed by the keenest of observers, to the most jealous of governments, "has seen no prince since Charlemagne so wise, so valorous, or so great as this Emperor Charles." Pre-eminently the man of his time, his name is seldom wanting to any monument of the age. He stood between the days of chivalry,

[1] On his policy at home and abroad his successors modelled, or attempted to model, theirs. "It is our maxim in the Council of State," said the second Don John of Austria, in 1679, "always to consult the spirit of the great Charles V.—to consider what he would have done in this or that difficult crisis, and to endeavour to do likewise." *Relation du Voyage d'Espagne* (par Mme. D'Aulnoy), 3 tomes 12mo, à la Haye, 1691, tom. iii. p. 96. They even carried it so far that it was said that the shabby coach in which Charles II. drove about Madrid was so shabby and old-fashioned because it was fitting that the model of Charles V. should not be departed from (D'Aulnoy).

[2] Marino de' Cavalli, *Bulletin de l'acad. roy. de Bruxelles*, tom. xii. p. 57.

which were going out, and the days of printing, which were coming in; respecting the traditions of the one, and fulfilling many of the requirements of the other. Men of the sword found him a bold cavalier; and those, whose weapons were their tongues or their pens, soon learned to respect him as an astute and consummate politician. Like his ancestors, Don Jayme or Don Sancho, with lance in rest, and shouting "Santiago for Spain!" he led his knights against the Moorish host, among the olives of Goleta; and even in his last campaign in Saxony, the cream-coloured genet of the Emperor was ever seen in the van of battle, like the famous piebald charger of Turenne in later fields of the palatinate. Some historians have contrasted Charles with his more showy and perhaps more amiable rival, Francis I., making the two monarchs the impersonations of opposite qualities and ideas—the Emperor, of statecraft and cunning, the King, of soldiership and gallantry. Francis was, no doubt, oftener to be seen glittering in armour, and adorning the pageants of royalty and war; but Charles was oftener in the trench and the field, scenes for which alone he cared to don his battered mail and shabby accoutrements. His journey across France, in order to repress the revolt of Ghent, was a finer example of daring, of a great danger deliberately braved for a great purpose, than is to be found in the story of the gay

CH. X.
1558.

champion of the field of gold. In the council-chamber he was ready to measure minds with all comers—with the northern envoy who claimed liberty of conscience for the Protestant princes; with the magnifico who excused the perfidies of Venice; or with the still subtler priest, who stood forth in red stockings to gloze in defence of the still greater iniquities of the Holy See. In the prosecution of his plans, and the maintenance of his influence, Charles shrank from no labour of mind, or fatigue of body. Where other sovereigns would have sent an ambassador, and opened a negotiation, he paid a visit, and concluded a treaty. From Groningen to Otranto, from Vienna to Cadiz, no unjust steward of the house of Austria could be sure that his misdeeds would escape detection on the spot from the keen cold eye of the indefatigable Emperor. The name of Charles is connected, not only with the wars and politics, but with the peaceful arts of his time: it is linked with the graver of the Vico, the chisel of Leoni, the pencil of Titian, and the lyre of Ariosto; and as a lover and patron of art, his fame stood as high at Venice and Nuremberg as at Antwerp and Toledo.

His abdication and its causes.

The admiration which was raised by the great events of his reign, was sustained to the last by the unwonted manner of its close. In our days, abdication has been so frequently the refuge of

weak men, fallen on evil times, or the last shift of baffled bad men, that it is difficult for us to conceive the sensation which must have been produced by the retirement of Charles. England is among the few nations of Europe to whose thrones there are no pretenders expiating in exile their personal or inherited sins—perhaps the sole nation whose royal house has no member who has put off, or has declined to put on, the hereditary crown. Now that the divinity which doth hedge a king has become a bowing wall and a tottering fence, it is almost impossible to look upon the solemn ceremony which was enacted at Bruxelles with the feeling or the eyes of the sixteenth century. The act of the Emperor was a thing not indeed altogether unheard of, but known only in books and distant times. The knights of the Fleece, who wept on the dais, around their Cæsar, knew little more about Diocletian than was known by the farmers and clothiers who elbowed each other in the crowd below. It was only some rare student who remembered that a Theodosius and an Isaac had submitted their heads to the razor, to save their necks from the axe or the bow-string; that a Lothaire had led a hermit's life in the forest of Ardennes; that a Carloman had milked the ewes of the Benedictines at Monte Cassino. Spanish history afforded several examples of abdications,

but they belonged to the misty ages of the Goth, and the Castilian who was in the habit of alluding to very remote antiquity as "the days of King Wamba," perhaps seldom knew that the example set by that martial monarch had been followed by Bermudo and Alonso and Ramiro, when each, in his turn, exchanged the diadem for the cowl. The act of Charles, therefore, was fitted to strike the imagination of men, by the novelty of the occasion, by the solemnity of the circumstances, by the splendour of the abdicated crowns, and by the world-wide fame with which they had been worn.

There can be no doubt that the Emperor gave the true reasons of his retirement when, panting for breath, and unable to stand alone, he told the States of Flanders that he resigned the government because it was a burden which his shattered frame could no longer bear. He was fulfilling the plan which he had cherished for nearly twenty years. Indeed, he seems to have determined to abdicate almost at the time when he determined to reign. So powerful a mind as that of Charles, has seldom been so tardy in giving evidence of power. Until he appeared in Italy, in 1529, the thirtieth year of his age, his strong will had been as wax in the hands of other men. Up to that time the most laborious, reserved, and inflexible of princes, was the most docile sub-

ject of his ministers. His mind ripened slowly, and his body decayed prematurely. By nature and hereditary habit a keen sportsman, in his youth he was unwearied in tracking the bear and the wolf over the hills of Toledo and Granada; and he was distinguished for his prowess against the bull and the boar.[1] Yet ere he had turned fifty, he was induced to amuse himself by shooting crows and daws amongst the trees of his garden. The hand which had wielded the lance, and curbed the charger, was so enfeebled with gout, that it was sometimes unable to break the seal of a letter. Declining fortune combined with decaying health to maintain him in that general vexation of spirit which he shared with King Solomon. His later schemes of policy and conquest ended in nothing but disaster and disgrace. The Pope, the Turk, the King of France, and the Protestant princes of the empire, were once more arrayed against the potentate, who, in the bright morning of his career, had imposed laws upon them all. The flight from Innsbruck avenged the cause which seemed lost at Muhlberg. The treaty of Passau, by placing the Lutheran religion amongst the recognised institutions of the empire, overturned the entire fabric of

[1] *Libro de la Monteria: Discurso de G. Argote de Molina*, p. 6; Ranke's *Ottoman and Spanish Empires*, translated by Kelly, 8vo, London, 1843, p. 30.

CH. X.
1558.

the Emperor's policy, and destroyed his hopes of transmitting the imperial crown to his son. While the doctors of the Church assembled at Trent, in that council which had cost so much treasure and intrigue, continued their solemn quibblings, the Protestant faith was spreading itself even in the dominions of the orthodox house of Hapsburg.

Emperor's device and motto.

The Emperor's well-known device, the pillars of Hercules, with the proud motto, PLUS ULTRA, for which the inventor had been rewarded with two mitres,[1] became the butt of the pedantic wits of France. Guise and the gallant townsmen of Metz furnished a new reading—NON ULTRA METAS—for the motto;[2] and Paris was made merry with the suggestion that the pillars should be changed into a crab and the words into PLUS CITRA,[3] to express the ebb of the imperial fortunes. The finances both of Spain and of the other dominions of Austria were in the utmost disorder; and the lord of Mexico and Peru had been forced to beg a loan from the Duke of Florence. It is no wonder, therefore, that Charles seized the first gleam of sunshine and returning

[1] Luis Marliano, author of this famous device, was paid for his ingenuity, first with the bishopric of Tuy (sorely against the will of Cardinal Ximenes: Alv. Gomez, *De rebus gestis*, fol. 151), and afterwards with that of Ciudad Rodrigo. Rod. Mendez Silva, *Catálogo Real*, 4to, Madrid, 1656, fol. 136.

[2] Le Moyne, *De l'Art des Devises*, 4to, Paris, 1666, p. 215.

[3] Strada, *De Bello Belgico*, 2 tom. am. 8vo, Antwerp, 1640, lib. i. 17.

calm to make for the long-desired haven of refuge; that he relieved his brow of its thorny crowns as soon as he had obtained an object dear to him as a father, a politician, and a devotee, by placing his son Philip on the rival throne of the heretic Tudors.

His love of monks and convents.

His habits and turn of mind made a religious house the natural place of his retreat. Like a true Castilian,

> "With age, with cares, with maladies opprest,
> He sought the refuge of conventual rest."

Monachism had for him a charm, vague yet powerful, such as soldiership has for the young; and he was ever fond of catching glimpses of the life which he had resolved, sooner or later, to embrace. When the Empress died, he retired to indulge his grief in the cloisters of La Sisla, near Toledo. After his return from one of his African campaigns, he paid a visit to the noble convent of Mejorado, near Olmedo, and spent two days in familiar converse with Jeronymites, sharing their refectory fare, and walking for hours in their garden alleys of venerable cypress. When he held his court at Bruxelles, he was often a guest at the convent of Grœnendael; and the monks commemorated his condescension as a monarch as well as his skill as a marksman, by placing his statue in bronze on the banks of their fish-pond, at a

CH. X.
1558.

point where he had brought down a heron from an amazing height. At Alcalá, when attending service in the University church, he would not occupy the throne prepared for him, but insisted on sitting with the canons, saying that he never could be better placed than among reverend and learned divines.[1]

It descends to his children.

These Church predilections, coloured with religious melancholy, Charles inherited from his ancestors on both sides of the house, and transmitted to his descendants. Ferdinand the Catholic was not free from them; and the Emperor Maximilian was said to have entertained, in his latter days, the notable design of taking orders and getting himself chosen Pope. Philip II. was pre-eminently the friend of friars: in his wretched cell adjoining the church of the Escorial he lived a life of the severest asceticism; and, ever reckless of the blood of his people, he was often to be seen on his knees, reverently dusting and polishing the golden reliquaries in which he had enshrined the bones of his saints. Don John of Austria, when sickening of deferred hope of a throne, instinctively turned his thoughts to the cowl and a celestial crown. Philip III. never missed visiting a con-

Ferdinand.

Maximilian.

Philip II.

Don John of Austria.

Philip III.

[1] Alf. Sanctii, *De Rebus Hispaniæ anacephaleosis*, 4to, Compluti, 1634, p. 377.

vent when the opportunity occurred; they long remembered, at Montserrate, the devotion with which he clambered to every rock-hewn cell of that romantic hermit-warren; and when the third part of Siguença's Jeronymite history appeared, he sat up a whole night to read the fascinating folio.[1] Even the licentious Philip IV. and the half-idiot Charles II. were careful to send the best buck or the best boar from their day's heap of game to the prior of the Escorial; and, in the true spirit of their grandsire of Yuste, they used to descend into the Pantheon of their palace-convent, and muse upon death amongst the ashes of their ancestors.

Philip IV.

Charles II.

Nor were the princesses of the Spanish house of Austria untinged with the religious melancholy of their race. Like Queen Juana, many of them ended their days in the cloister, assuming the robe, and some of them even taking the vows, of the sisterhood. Amongst these were the Archduchess Margaret, who refused the hand of her uncle, Philip II., and, as Sister Margaret of the Cross, was famous for near half a century among the vestals of Madrid.[2] The Infanta Isabella, the able ruler of the Netherlands, at the death of her husband

Queen Juana.

Arch-duchess Margaret.

Infanta Isabella.

[1] Porreño, *Hechos y dichos de Felipe III.*, 4to, Madrid, 1723, pp. 332–4.

[2] See infra, chap. xi. p. 416.

CH. X.
1558.

took the habit, though not the vows, of a Franciscan nun, as the habit which had been worn with so much holy distinction by ladies of her name and lineage, the Isabellas of Hungary and of Portugal.[1] The married life of Queen Margaret, wife of Philip III., was divided between childbed and church.[2] Paris, with its pageantries and the new pleasures of bridehood and a throne, could not dispel the constitutional gloom from the young heart of Maria Theresa. "What did you think of your reception?" asked Anne of Austria, on the evening of her arrival at the Louvre. "I thought," replied the queen of Louis XIV., "of that other pageant which shall one day carry me to the tomb."[3] The influence of Spanish blood may be seen in the declining years of Louis himself and in the strange story of the devout Bourbon, who wore the family honours of Orleans between the profligate Regent and the infamous Egalité. It was seen also in the last of the old house of Austria, the Empress Maria Theresa, who, for the last fifteen years of her life, used often to be lowered into the vault which contained the remains of her

Queen Margaret.

Louis XIV.

Empress Maria Theresa.

[1] C. de Benavente, *Advertencias para Reyes*, 4to, Madrid, 1643, pp. 228, 229.

[2] See her life, *Vida y muerte de Doña Margarita de Austria*, por Diego de Guzman, 4to, Madrid, 1617.

[3] Fr. Juan B. de Soria, *Historia de Doña Maria Teresa de Austria, Reina de Francia*, sm. 8vo, Madrid, 1684, p. 11.

beloved lord, Francis of Lorraine, to watch and pray beside his grave.[1]

His love of Yuste.

To the last Charles loved his woodland nest at Yuste. It has been said that he was wont to declare that he had enjoyed there more real happiness in one day than he had derived from all his triumphs[2]—an extravagant assertion, which is nevertheless far nearer the truth than the idle tale that his retirement was a long repentance of his abdication. But the cloister, like the world, was not without its disappointments. He had escaped only from the pageantry of courts, not from the toil and excitement of public affairs. To Yuste he had come, seeking solitude and repose; but although his chamberlain complained bitterly that he had indeed found the one, his own long and laboured despatches prove that he enjoyed but little of the other. He began by attempting to confine his attention to a few matters in which he was specially interested, and which he hoped ere long to bring

His disappointments there.

[1] Carlyle, *History of Frederick II. of Prussia*, 6 vols. 8vo, London, 1858–65, vol. vi. p. 633, says she went down every year on the 18th August, the anniversary of his death, to the vaults of the Stephen's Kirche. E. Vehse, *Memoirs of the Court of Austria*, 2 vols. sm. 8vo, London, 1856, vol. ii. p. 263, says he was buried in the church of the *Capuchins*, at Vienna, and gives other details of her shutting herself up all the days of the month of August in each of the years during which she survived him, and on the 18th of each alternate month, and of her daily meditations before a portrait of him as he lay in his coffin.

[2] Phil. Camerarii *Meditationes Historicæ*, 3 tom. 4to, Francofurti, 1602–9, i. p. 210.

CH. X. 1558.

to a happy termination; but the circle gradually widened, and at last his anxious eye learned once more to sweep the whole horizon of Spanish policy. From the war in Flanders he would turn to the diplomacy of Italy or Portugal; and his plans for replenishing the treasury at Valladolid, were followed by remarks on the garrisons in Africa, or the signal-towers along the Spanish shore. He watched the course of the vessel of state with interest as keen as if the helm were still in his own hands; and the successes and the disasters of his son affected him as if they were his own. Unfortunately, in 1557 and 1558, the disasters greatly outnumbered and outweighed the successes. On one side of the account stood the brilliant but barren victory of St. Quentin, and the less signal but better employed victory of Gravelines; on the other, there was the bullion riots at Seville, the disgraceful treaty of Rome, the loss of Calais and of Thionville, the sack of Menorca, and the outburst of heresy. He might well dread the arrival of each courier; and the destruction of the army of Oran was announced in the despatches which lay unread on his table at the time of his death.

His prudence.

The prudence and moderation which generally guided his acts in the world dictated his writings at Yuste. Notwithstanding his displeasure with the Roman negotiations of Alba and the loss of Calais

and Thionville, which he expressed freely enough in conversation, few traces of ruffled temper are to be found in his written remarks on these subjects. It was this caution and self-control which saved his reign from many of those disorders and scandals which disgraced the rule of his successors. The three Philips were governed by favourites and viziers, minions of fortune, who in time became her martyrs. The ministers of Charles neither rose so high nor fell so low; he never had a Perez, a Lerma, an Olivares, or a Caldéron.

Perhaps the very qualities which rendered the despatches of the Emperor so admirable as state papers, at the dates which they bore, and in the hands to which they were addressed, tend to diminish their value as materials for his biography. A close reasoner, careful in analysing facts, and subtle in penetrating motives, Charles was nevertheless one of the most tiresome writers who ever drove the quill of political or diplomatic correspondence. Heavy and redundant in style, his pictures of men and events are flat and colourless; and even in argument, his vivacity is cramped and crippled by the fence of caution and reserve which ever hedges his path. Very rarely does it happen that any spark of human feeling or passion illumines his weary records of the daily toils of power; of hopes and fears, to which a generous heart can seldom respond; of selfish

Dulness of his writings.

CH. X. 1558.

intrigues and ignoble rivalries: and of all the dusty plans of an ambition which never soared above the family-tree of Hapsburg.

His popular manners.

In the cloister, Charles was no less popular than he had been in the world. In spite of his feeble health and phlegmatic temperament, in spite of his caution, which was ever suspicious, and his selfishness, which frequently made him false; in spite of his jealous love of power, and of his contempt for popular rights, there was still in his conduct and bearing that indescribable charm which wins the favour of the multitude. A little book, of no literary value, but frequently printed both in French and Flemish, sufficiently indicates in its title the qualities which coloured the popular view of his character. *The Life and Actions, Heroic and Pleasant, of the Invincible Emperor, Charles V.*, was long a favourite chap-book in the Low Countries. It relates how he defeated Solyman the Magnificent; how he permitted a Walloon boor to obtain judgment against him for the value of a sheep, killed by the wheels of his coach; how he rode down the Moorish horsemen at Tunis; and how he jested, like any private sportsman, with the woodmen of Soigne. A similar reputation for affability and good-humour, heightened by the added quality of sanctity, he left behind him in the sylvan monastery of Estremadura. Doomed by royal etiquette to eat alone, he sometimes broke

through the rule in favour of St. Benedict or St. Jerome. Dining in former years with the fathers of Montserrate, the prior, a rough Aragonese, ventured to tell him that he had polluted their sober board by eating flesh-meat there, a monkish pleasantry which the imperial guest won the hearts of his hosts by taking in perfectly good part.[1] At Yuste he once dined in the refectory, and although the fare did not tempt him to do the friars that honour a second time, the bad dishes did not affect the good-humour of his conversation.[2]

His religious moderation in the world,

In one point alone did Charles in the cell differ widely from Charles on the throne. In the world, fanaticism had not been one of his vices; he feared the keys no more than his cousin of England, and he confronted the successor of St. Peter no less boldly than he made head against the heir of St. Louis. While he held Clement VII. prisoner at Rome, he permitted at Madrid the mockery of masses for that pontiff's speedy deliverance. Against the Protestants he fought rather as rebels than as heretics, and he frequently stayed the hand of the victorious zealots of the Church. At Wittenberg he set a fine example of moderation, in forbidding

[1] *Vida que el emperador tuvo en el convento de Yuste*, in the MS. entitled *El perfecto desengaño* por el Marques de Valparaiso, 1638, of which I have given an account in my preface.

[2] Supra, chap. viii. p. 277.

CH. X.
1558.

the destruction of the tomb of Luther, saying that he contended with the living and not with the dead.[1] To a Venetian envoy, accredited to him at Bruxelles, in the last year of his reign, he appeared free from all taint of polemical madness, and willing that subjects of theology should be discussed in his presence, with fair philosophical freedom.[2]

and his bigotry in the cloister.

But once within the walls of Yuste he assumed all the passions, prejudices, and superstitions of a friar. Looking back on his past life, he thanked God for the evil that he had been permitted to do in the matter of religious persecution, and repented him, in sackcloth and ashes, for having kept his plighted word to a heretic. Religion was the enchanted ground whereon his strong will was paralysed and his keen intellect fell grovelling in the dust. Protestant and philosophic historians love to relate how Charles, finding that no two of his timepieces could be made to go alike, remarked that he had perhaps erred in spending so much blood and treasure in the hope of compelling men to a yet more impossible uniformity in the more difficult matters of religion. The antithesis of some declaimer on toleration, passing from pen to pen, has at last been placed by a Sleidan or a Giovio, more

[1] Juncker, *Vita Mart. Luteri*, sm. 8vo, Francofurti, 1699, p. 219; Sleidan, *De Statu relig. et reip.*, lib. xix., is cited as his authority.

[2] *Relatione* of Badovaro.

careless or unscrupulous than their fellows, as an aphorism in the mouth of the Emperor himself, against whom it was probably, in the first instance, launched.[1] It would have been well for his own fame, well, perhaps, for the moral and intellectual progress of Spain, had such a sentiment been found in the table-talk of the Spanish Diocletian. But it is certain that the philosophy of

> "him who walked
> In the Salonian garden's noble shade,

was unknown or unapproved at Yuste, in the cloister of the Jeronymite or in the cabinet of the imperial recluse.

The *Carolea* of Sempere.

While Charles lived and died at Yuste, no less than two aspiring pens were at work upon epic poems to commemorate his reign. Sempere, a merchant of Valencia, was first in the field, in 1560, with his *Carolea*, of which the thirty printed cantos bring the hero's history down only to his coronation

[1] I have sought in vain for the inventor of this popular fiction, of which I can find no trace in books of the sixteenth century. Strada, *De Bello Belg.*, lib. i. p. 13, speaking of the Emperor's love of watch-making and watches, adds, "Quorum videlicit rotas multo quàm fortunæ facilius temperabat;" a remark which was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Macaulay, as the possible germ of the story. It is told in its present shape, as a well-known anecdote, in Harris's *Description of the Gardens of Loo*, 4to, London, 1699, pp. 70–72, the earliest book in which I have met with it. Hume relates it in his *History of Queen Mary Tudor*, whence it was probably transplanted, without question, by Robertson, who, having the will and codicil of Charles before him in Sandoval, ought to have rejected it on internal evidence.

CH. X.

1558.

The *Carlo Famoso* of Çapata.

at Bologna. The huge and worthless fragment was never completed.[1] In 1568, Luis Çapata, a soldier, published, likewise at Valencia, his *Carlo Famoso*, in fifty cantos. The composition of this work cost him the labour of thirteen years, and the printing of it, upwards of one thousand ducats, but neither from this large outlay of time and money, nor from a still more lavish expenditure of flattery in his dedication to Philip II., did he reap anything, according to his own account,[2] but vexation and deferred hope. He, too, commenced his rhymed annals—for the poem was nothing more—on a scale so colossal, that he was compelled to compress into the final canto the last twelve years of his hero's life. From this wilderness of justly neglected verse I venture to select these stanzas as a fair specimen of the poem, and of the admiration with which the retirement of Charles was regarded.

Extracts from the *Carlo Famoso*.

"Y el emperador, que antes no solia
Caber en todo el mundo de aposento,
En Yuste, en nuestra España un abadia,
Se recogio à la fin à un aposento :

[1] Ticknor's *Hist. of Spanish Literature*, ii. p. 456.

[2] In a MS. quoted by J. A. Pellicer (*Don Quixote*, 5 vols. 8vo, Madrid, 1797, i. p. 73, note), who thinks that *Carlo Famoso* was the book alluded to by Cervantes as *Hechos del Emperador*, which was burned along with the *Carolea*, by the priest and barber among the books of which they cleared the Quixote library. It is now of extreme rarity. [See also supra, chap. iv. p. 130.]

Y alli (puesto en el ciel un pie) bivia,
Mas qu'en su cielo Jupiter contento,
En religion sin habito biviendo
A quantos havia monges excediendo.

Otros se han del imperio descargado,
Mas que no de virtud de miedo lleno,
Qu'en la una mano vian el hierro ayrado,
Y en el otra el vaso oculto de veneno;
Imitando al castor, y aun tan loado
Les fue, que de su fama hoy dura el trueno,
Mas el dexo un imperio, ô caso duro,
Glorioso, dulce, en paz, quieto y seguro.

. . . . . .

Carlo que como cisne su fin siente
Al niño Don Juan de Austria ante si llama,
Y le dize quien es, y de alli ausente
Se le encomienda al rey que tanto el ama:
Y hecho lo que un rey tan excellente
En tal tiempo devià, como una llama
Que le falta ya al fin el nutrimiento
Se fue agozar de Dios à su alto assiento."[1]

"So Charles the Emperor, whose mighty reign
The globe itself scarce held within its bound,
At Yuste, a fair abbey of our Spain,
A lowly home and quiet haven found:
Here, half his heart in heaven, did he remain,
Tranquil as Jove with sovran glories crown'd;
In all things save the hood a holy friar,
In Christian graces peerless in the choir.

Kings erst have left their sceptred state and sway,
Pale terror prompting, not calm strength of soul;

[1] *Carlo Famoso de Don Luys Çapata*, 4to, Valencia, 1566, fol. 287.

CH. X.
1558.

Flash'd, in their dreams, the falchion's dreadful ray,
Lurk'd, in their fears, the drug within the bowl;
(So beavers, hunted, cast their spoils away,)
Yet fame's loud tongues the noble deed extol:
But greater Charles, with glory all his own,
Resign'd a peaceful, sure, and splendid throne.

. . . . . .

His end at last foreknowing, like the swan,
The Emperor to his side bids quickly bring
The opening Austrian flower, his young Don John;
Reveals his birth; and to the absent king
Commends in loving wise this other son;
Then, sooth'd with holy rites, his soul takes wing,
With fitful flickering like a lamp that dies,
To God's high seat and bliss beyond the skies."

Mention of Don John of Austria in the poem.

The statement with regard to Don John is perhaps not wholly to be relied upon; nor is it to be wholly rejected. Çapata wrote while the events were fresh in men's memories; in his dedication to the King he challenged comparison for accuracy with any prose historian; and he professed to mark with an asterisk every passage in which he had ventured to embellish fact with fiction. No asterisk throws a doubt upon the incident above recorded. By the letters written from Yuste it is neither confirmed nor discredited. Quixada, De Bues, Bodart, and Philip II. seem to have been the only persons in the secret; but during the life of the Emperor, the chamberlain never alluded to it in his correspondence with the King; and even after his master's death he mentioned it, as the next chapter

will show, very cautiously, very briefly, and with evident reluctance.[1]

[1] There is a romance, *Sobre la triste y lamentable muerte de Don Carlos Quinto Emperador de los Romanos y Rey de España que murió o 2 de Setiembre* 1558, beginning "*Cuelque ya morte sus armas*," which occurs in one of the *Rosas* of Juan Timoneda, Valencia, 1573, of which a notice will be found in Fernando José Wolf's *Rosa de Romances* (or tome iii. of the *Romancero Castellano* of Depping), 8vo, Leipsique, 1846, p. xviii. It is not given, and is said not to be interesting.

CHAPTER XI.

FINAL NOTICES OF THE COURT OF YUSTE.

Portents at the death of the Emperor.

CHARLES V. did not leave the world without some of those portents in which his age loved to trace the influence of a remarkable death upon the operations of external nature. In Aragon, the famous bell of Vililla, which, ringing of itself, had foretold the death of Ferdinand the Catholic, and the sack of Rome by the army of Bourbon, once more sent its hoarse and mysterious warning along the plains of the Ebro.[1] A comet appeared over Yuste at the beginning of

[1] Dr. Juan de Quiñones, *Discurso de la Campana de Vililla*, 4to, Madrid, 1625, fol. 4. A curious volume. The prophetic properties of the bell were ascribed, by some, to the influence of the stars, or the touch of angels; by others, to the presence in the metal of one of the thirty pieces of silver for which Judas Iscariot betrayed his master.

CH. XI.
1558.

the Emperor's last illness, and was last seen on the night in which he died. In the spring of 1558, a lily in his garden, growing beneath his windows, bore two buds, of which one flowered and faded in due course, but the other remained a bud through the summer and autumn, to the great astonishment of the gardeners and the friars. But on the night of the 20th September, it burst into full bloom, as an emblem of the whiteness of the parting spirit, and of the sure and certain hope of its reception into the mansions of bliss. Reverently gathered in the morning, this wondrous lily was fastened upon the black veil which covered the sacramental shrine in the conventual church, and remained there until it dropped off from decay. In the week following the obsequies, a pied bird, large as a vulture, but of a kind unknown in the Vera, perched at night on the roof of the church, exactly over the imperial grave, and disturbed the friars by barking like a dog. For five successive nights it barked there in the clear moonlight, always at the same hour, and always arriving from the east and flying away towards the west. And four years later, a holy Capuchin of the New World, Fray Gonçalo Mendez, as he knelt in his convent chapel at Guatemala, was blessed with a vision wherein he saw the Emperor before the judgment-seat of Our Lord, making his defence against the accusing

demons, and with so much success that he received honourable acquittal, and was in the end borne off to heaven by the angels of light.

Contents of the codicil to his will.

The codicil of the will of Charles, the only part of the document which properly belongs to his life at Yuste, is drawn up with a minuteness of detail very characteristic of the careful habits of the man. After a profession of attachment to the Church, and hatred of heresy, and after the directions for his burial, which have been already noticed, he proceeds to describe a monument and altar-piece which he wished to be erected in the church of the convent, in the event of Yuste being chosen by his son for the final resting-place for his bones. The altar-piece was to be of alabaster, a copy in relief of Titian's picture of the Last Judgment, the picture on which he was gazing at the moment when he felt the first touch of death. A custodia, or sacramental tabernacle, was likewise to be made of alabaster and marble, and placed between statues of the Empress and himself. These effigies were to be sculptured kneeling, with hands clasped as if in prayer, bare-foot, and with uncovered heads, and clad in sheets like penitents. For further particulars he referred the King to Luis Quixada and the confessor Regla, who were fully instructed in his meaning and wishes. In case of the removal of his body, instead of the altar-piece and monument, the convent was to

CH. XI.
1558.

receive a picture for their high altar, of such kind as the King should appoint.

The Emperor next expresses his concern at hearing that the pensions which he had granted to the servants whom he had dismissed at Xarandilla had been very ill paid, and he entreats the King to order their punctual payment for the future. He directs that the friars of Yuste, and the friars from other convents, who had been specially employed in his service as readers, preachers, musicians, or in other capacities, shall receive such gratuities as shall appear sufficient to Father Regla and Quixada. To the confessor himself he bequeaths an annual pension of 400 ducats (about £80 sterling), and 400 ducats in legacy. Of Quixada he twice speaks in the most affectionate terms, acknowledging his long and good services, and his willing fidelity in incurring the expense and inconvenience of removing his wife and household to Quacos. Lamenting that he has done so little to promote his interest, he earnestly recommends him to the King's favour, and leaves him a legacy of 2,000 ducats (£400 sterling), and a pension of the value of his present emoluments, without mentioning the amount, until he shall be provided with a better appointment. He also desires the Infanta to cause the amount of fines recovered, or that should be recovered by his attorney, from the poachers and rioters of Quacos, to

be paid into the hands of a person named by the executors, for distribution amongst the poor of the village. The contents of his larder and cellar, and his stores of provisions in general, at the day of his decease, and likewise the dispensary, with its drugs and vessels, he leaves to the brotherhood of Yuste, and to the poor any money which may remain in his coffers after defraying the wages of his servants.

These are all mentioned by name, and for the most part receive pensions, except a few to whom small gratuities are given, it being explained that previous provision has been made for them. The pensions range from 400 florins (£32 sterling), conferred on the doctor, Mathys, to 90 florins, which requite the services of Isabel Plantin, laundress of the table-linen. The gratuities vary from 150,000 maravedis (about £45 sterling), left to the secretary Gaztelu, to 7,500 maravedis, given to Jorge de Diano, a boy employed in the workshop of Torriano. That mechanician himself being already pensioned to the amount of 200 crowns, receives only 15,000 maravedis; and he is likewise reminded that he has been paid something to account of the price of a clock which is in hand, and for which his employer is content that the executors shall pay a fair valuation.

The executors of the will were Quixada, Gaztelu,

CH. XI. 1558.

and Father Regla. Immediately after the obsequies, they began to carry its provisions into effect. The wages of the servants were all paid in gold, and most of them took their departure to Valladolid, the Flemings being anxious to secure berths in the fleet which was then assembling at Laredo, to carry the Queen of Hungary to her government in the Netherlands. The cook and some of the confectioners, recommended by Quixada, were taken into the service of the Princess-Regent. Amongst the friars, the executors distributed 1,190 ducats in gratuities. The largest of these gratuities was a sum of 200 ducats to the preacher Villalva. Fray Lorenzo de Losar received 150 ducats, for acting as purveyor to the Emperor's household; the friars from Zaragoza and Granada, who had been in attendance as preachers for three months, had 40 each; Fray Marcos de Cardona, counter-bass, and an assistant in the garden of the Emperor, 70; and 35 were divided amongst the poor relations of Fray Juan de Villamayor, who had died three months before in the post of chapel-master. Strict injunctions were laid upon the prior of Yuste that no one was to be permitted, under any pretext whatever, but the King's order, to lodge in the palace, which he and his fraternity were expected to keep in proper repair.

Of Don John of Austria, the sole acknowledg-

ment of him as son of Charles V., and the only declaration of his father's intentions with regard to him, were contained in a separate paper executed at Bruxelles, on the 6th June 1554, and already deposited in the custody of the King.[1] By this document Charles required that Gerónimo—for so Don John was called—his natural son born to him in his widowhood by a German unmarried woman, should be educated in a manner befitting his rank; and he further intimated a wish that he should afterwards enter one of the reformed monastic orders, provided, however, that his inclinations were not forced or even influenced in the matter. In the event of his preferring a secular career, lands of the annual value of between 20,000 and 30,000 ducats, in the kingdom of Naples, were to be settled upon him and his heirs.

Paper relating to Don John of Austria.

Quixada and Gaztelu were employed for some weeks in drawing up an inventory of the Emperor's effects, and in superintending their removal to Valladolid. The Regent was very minute in the instructions which she sent down for their guidance. On finding that the physician, Cornelio, and some of the other attendants, had asked for the mules in the imperial stable, and that the old one-eyed

The Princess-Regent's orders

[1] *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. 496. See also supra, chap. iv. p. 103, note.

CH. XI.

1558.

respecting the Emperor's personal property.

Quixada and his wife and Don John.

pony had been actually made over to the doctor, she issued a mandate, that nothing which had been used by her father, or in his service, should be given away. She likewise required that his favourite cat and talking parrot should be sent to her; and these pets were accordingly forthwith despatched to Valladolid by Quixada, in one of the imperial litters, attended by a trusty servant.[1] Doña Magdalena de Ulloa improved her spare time in Estremadura by making a pilgrimage with Don John of Austria to the shrine of Our Lady of Guadalupe, and adoring beneath the galaxy of silver lamps, gifts of royal devotees, to which her companion was one day to add the brightest star, in the beautiful "fanal" taken from the galley of the Turkish admiral at Lepanto.[2] The chamberlain and secretary had much difficulty in settling various small and unexpected claims brought against the Emperor's estate by the neighbouring peasants, and supported by their

[1] The litter in which these incongruous passengers travelled was probably that which is now preserved in the royal armoury at Madrid. Described in the catalogue (*Catálogo de la armería real*, No. 2425, 8vo, Madrid, 1849, p. 179) as something between a black leather trunk and a Sclavonian kibitka, it is very like a large cradle. It is engraved in Jubinal, *La Armeria real de Madrid*, 2 vol. fol., Paris, s. a. ii. pl. 30. In the same armoury (*Cat.* No. 1931, p. 121) are four iron trenchers, which belonged to the Emperor's campaigning canteen, and which are caustically contrasted, in the *Handbook for Spain* [2nd edition, 1847], p. 450, with the "golden *necessaires*" left behind by the runaway Buonapartes at Vittoria and Waterloo.

[2] Fr. Gabriel de Talavera, *Historia de N^a. Señora de Guadalupe*, 4to, Toledo, 1597, fol. 156.

friends the friars. At length, however, these quibblings were disposed of, and Quixada was able to bid farewell to Quacos[1] and to Estremadura early in the month of December.

Funeral honours of Emperor at Valladolid.

At Valladolid, funeral honours were performed for the Emperor, in the presence of the Regent and her court, in the beautiful church of the royal Benedictines. A sermon was preached on the occasion by Francisco Borja, from the text, *Ecce elongavi fugiens: et mansi in solitudine*, "Lo! then would I wander far off, and remain in the wilderness."[2] It was filled with praise of the Emperor for his pious magnanimity in taking leave

[1] To the Hon. Colonel Percy, who spent some days during the winter of 1851-2 at Yuste, I am indebted for the following tradition of the Vera, picked up from the bailiff of the convent. The village of Quacos, says the legend, was originally called by the more euphonious name of Villaflor del Rey. Don John of Austria attending some rural festival there, and getting into a quarrel with the villagers, received a blow on the head so severe, that he was carried insensible to the monastery of Yuste. The Emperor, enraged at this affront, decreed that the name of the village should be changed; and, the cry of a duck striking his ear at the moment that he was devising a new appellation, he selected the word *Quacos*. This idle tale may perhaps be founded on some older tradition; but it is certain that Quacos was so called, before Charles or Don John came to Yuste, in the letters of Quixada and Gaztelu from Xarandilla. It has been suggested to me that the name may have been derived from the Latin, *Quercus*, oaks of all kinds abounding in the forest. But whatever its origin, there is some traditionary reproach attached to it. The inhabitants, to this day, dislike any allusion to the above story; and to speak to a native of the place, of "Quacos *con perdon*," "Quacos, by your leave," as if it were a word unfit for ears polite, is a mode of topographical teasing from which serious quarrels have been known to arise.

Traditional origin of name of Quacos.

[2] Psalm liv. 7, in the Vulgate; or in our translation, lv. 7.

CH. XI. 1558.

of the world before the world had taken leave of him—praise which, in the mouth of a Jesuit, who had once been a wealthy grandee, must have savoured somewhat of self-glorification. Amongst other edifying reminiscences of his friend, Borja told his hearers that he had it from the lips of the deceased, that never since he was one-and-twenty years old, had he failed to set apart some portion of each day for inward prayer.

Solemn services were also performed for the Emperor in all the convents of the Order of Jerome; and the great fraternity of Guadalupe, in their noble Gothic church, displayed peculiar magnificence in honour of the imperial devotee, to whom, when a pilgrim at the Virgin's shrine thirty-two years before, the prior had granted a brief of brotherhood, whereby he was entitled to the benefit of fifty-four annual masses sung by the friars.[1] Obsequies were celebrated by the Primate of Spain at Talavera and at Toledo; and Seville and Naples also distinguished themselves by the lavish loyalty of their funeral pomps.[2]

---

[1] Talavera, *Hist. de Guadalupe*, fol. 210.

[2] "The Archbishop of Santiago was at Peñaranda, a town of his brother the Count of Miranda, where he caused to be performed the funeral honours of His Majesty, who is in heaven, very solemn, with the love (which belongs to) a true servant of your Majesty, and over the tumbulo they placed an epitaph which said, 'Carlos V. mi segundo,

CH. XI.
1558.
At Brux-elles, &c.

But Bruxelles excelled all the cities of the Austrian dominion in the splendour with which she did honour to the Emperor's memory. The ceremonies took place on the 29th and 30th of December. The procession, in which walked Philip II., robed and hooded like a friar, and attended by the Dukes of Brunswick and Savoy, and a host of the nobility of Spain, Germany, and the Netherlands, was two hours in passing from the palace to the church of St. Gudule. Its principal feature was a great galley, placed on a cunningly devised ocean, which answered the double purpose of supporting some islands emblematic of the Indies, and of concealing the power which rolled the huge structure along. Faith, Hope, and Charity, were the crew of this enchanted bark; and her sides were hung with twelve paintings of Charles's principal exploits, which were further set forth in golden letterpress upon the sails of black satin. A long line of horses followed, each led by two gentlemen, and bearing on its housings the blazon of one of the states of the Emperor. They were led up the aisle of the church, past the altar, and past the stalls occupied by the knights of the Golden Fleece.

que asi mesmo se venció aviendo vencido el mundo.'"—Letter of El limosnero Fro. Osorio to Philip II., Valladolid, 30th Oct. 1558. *Documentos Inéditos*, xxvii. p. 194.

CH. XI.
1558.

As the last horse, covered with a black footcloth, went by, the Count of Bossu, one of the knights, the early playmate and dear friend of the Emperor, threw himself on his knees, and remained for some time prostrate on the pavement in an agony of grief.[1] The funeral discourse was pronounced by Francis Richardot, afterwards Bishop of Arras, an eminent scholar and divine, and esteemed the most eloquent preacher within the dominions of Burgundy.[2]

At Lisbon,

Funeral honours were also performed in most of the foreign capitals, and those at Lisbon and Rome were peculiarly splendid. The ceremonies

---

[1] An elaborate account of it, with many curious plates, came from the press of Ch. Plantin. *La magnifica e somtuosa pompa funerale fatta in Burselle, il di xxix di Decembre*, MDLVIII. *nell' essequie dello invittissimo Carlo Quinto*, fol. Anversa, 1559. The Latin inscriptions on the banners at this funeral ceremony will be found in Chrytræus, *Variorum in Europa Itinerum deliciæ*, 1594, pp. 691, &c., the *Belgica*. The epitaph of Charles V. is in Guicciardini, and is also given, p. 694. It is said at the end of it that the Infanta Juana *patri opt. et max. P.* All but this epitaph appear to be given by Sandoval.

[2] *Papiers de Granvelle*, iv. p. 510; v. p. 4, note. This *oraison funèbre*, and those on Mary, Queen of Hungary, and Mary, Queen of England, form a very rare volume, fol. Antwerp, 1558. The sermon was printed, as appears by the following article in the *Bibliotheca Huthemiana*:—

26,221. Sermon funèbre fait devant le roy par Messire François Richardot, evesque de Nicopole, et suffragant d'Arras; aux obsèques . . . de l'Empereur Charles V. célébrées à Bruxelles en la grande église de St. Gudle. . . . Autre sermon fait devant le roy par icelluy Richardot aux obsèques de la royne Marie douairière de Hongrie . . . encore un autre sermon par le susdit Richardot . . . aux obsèques de la royne Marie d'Angleterre. . . . Anvers (Plantin), 1559, 1 vol. am. fo. (très-rare).—*Bibliotheca Huthemiana*, iv. p. 297, No. 26,211. The books are now in the royal library at Bruxelles.

CH. XI.
1558.

in the Roman church of St. James of the Spaniards gave great umbrage to the sensitive nation which worshipped in the church of St. Louis of the French. The walls of the Castilian temple were hung with huge paintings of the Emperor's victories, especially of the field of Pavia, in which the portrait and banner of the royal captive were paraded with ostentatious accuracy. The Roman magnates of the French party asked why the sack of Rome and the captivity of Clement VII. were not likewise commemorated; and the Pope expressed his indignation against the sixteen cardinals in the interest of Spain for being present at the proceedings. The French ambassador affected a diplomatic unconcern, and remarked that the great conqueror had in the end received such entertainment at the hands of his master that he was fain to hide his diminished head in the cloister.[1] Nevertheless, when peace was concluded, funeral honours were accorded to the Emperor in some of the cathedrals of France; and even our Protestant Elizabeth caused a solemn dirge and mass of requiem to be sung for his soul in her abbey of Westminster.[2] It was computed that

At Rome,

and London.

[1] See the letter of M. d'Angoulême to Henry II., 22nd March 1559, in Ribier, *Lettres et Mémoires*, i. pp. 792–3.

[2] On the 24th Dec. 1558. Queen Mary's funeral had been celebrated there on the 13th. Lingard's *Hist. of England*, 10 vols. 8vo, London, 1849, vi. p. 8.

CH. XI.
1558.

throughout Europe his obsequies were performed in upwards of 3,000 churches, at a cost of 6,000,000 ducats.[1]

The church of Yuste was merely a temporary resting-place of "imperial Cæsar, dead and turned to clay." The Emperor, in his will, had confided the care of his bones to his son, expressing a wish, however, to be laid beside his wife and his parents in the cathedral of Granada, in the splendid chapel-royal, rich with the tombs and trophies of Ferdinand and Isabella. Philip, however, shivering in the rear at St. Quentin, had already vowed to St. Lawrence the great monastery which it was his after-delight to make the chief monument of the power and the piety of the house of Hapsburg. At the Escorial, therefore, he determined to unite the bones of his father and mother, in the mausoleum destined for the Spanish line of Austria. In 1573, the building was sufficiently advanced for the purpose, the grey dome of the church being already visible from Madrid on the distant side of Guadarrama.

Towards the end of January 1574, Don Francisco Delgado, Bishop of Jaen,[2] the Duke of Alcalá, Don

[1] Gregorio Leti (*Vita de Carlo V.*, 4 tom. 12mo, Amsterdam, 1700, iv. 412–13), quoting, without saying where he found it, an account of the Emperor's life and death, by Father Regla, says that Regla computed the number of services at 3,700, while Saavedra made them only 2,400.

[2] Martin de Ximena, *Catálogo de los obispos de Jaen*, fol. Madrid, 1654, p. 486.

CH. XI.

1558.

Emperor's body removed to the Escorial in 1574.

Luis Manrique, and secretary Gaztelu, arrived at Yuste, charged with the duty of removing the deposit which had given a world-wide fame to the remote monastery. The monks bewailed the removal, as if the bones of the Emperor had been those of Santiago himself. In the sermon preached on the occasion, one of them apostrophised the dead monarch with somewhat of eloquence and pathos. "Although," said he, "you are but a lifeless corpse, the garment of the spirit which has long enjoyed, as we believe, the glory of God, we thank your Cæsarean Majesty for the grace which you have done to Yuste and to our order. In a year and eight months, passed in this solitude, we are well assured that you have gained more renown than in the whole of your long reign. History, indeed, will never forget your great achievements; but in the end of your life you surpassed them all. Grief for losing you, who so loved us, chokes my utterance; for I know that, when you are gone, although we, who are now alive, are your devoted servants and chaplains, a time will come, when, even in this place, your memory will be regarded no more than if you had never dwelt within our walls."

Quacos itself felt that a glory was departing from the Vera. Its thieving and poaching villagers were inspired by the occasion to a grotesque demonstra-

CH. XI.
1558.

tion of sorrow and reverence. As the coffin, placed on a litter and attended by the funeral train, passed along the street, two rude paintings were exposed, in which Quacos and Solitude were supposed to be personified, and in the name of which a village poet recited some doleful doggerel. Preceded by the royal standard, the procession was formed of the official personages, prebendaries of Jaen, royal chaplains, and their servants, eight Jeronymites from Yuste, and twenty-four mendicant friars from other convents of the Vera. Religious services were performed at the halting-places each morning and evening during the ten days of march, in the course of which the principal incident was a quarrel between the Jeronymites and the Franciscans about precedence, which was decided in favour of Yuste.[1]

From Granada, Merida, and Valladolid were brought at the same time the remains of the Empress Isabella and her two children, Fernando and Juan, who died in infancy, of the Princess Mary, the first wife of Philip II., and of Eleanor and Mary, the Queens of France and Hungary. The occasion of the first funeral solemnities in the new temple of the Escorial was marked by one of those terrible storms which visit the bleak sierra, sent, as the monks supposed, by the Prince of Darkness, in the

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, pp. 58-60.

hope of overthrowing the rising fortress of piety.[1] A grand arch of timber, erected at the side portal, known as the "kitchen gate," was blown away before the eyes of the trembling worshippers, and its hangings of rich stuffs, rent into minute shreds, were scattered far and wide over the surrounding chase. The oaks of the Herreria, it was said, put forth blossoms of brocade.[2] The ceremonies within the church lasted for three days; the Emperor's body was once more buried with all the rites used at the interment of a Jeronymite friar; and his funeral oration was pronounced for the second time by his favourite preacher Villalva. The Bishop of Jaen, in order to do honour to the memory of a monarch to whom he did not owe his mitre, spent upon the equipment of his train a sum with which he had intended to purchase an estate for a favourite nephew. To this disappointed heir one of the courtiers afterwards said—"Our lord the King entrusted your uncle with the bones of His Majesty's father, and you are left to pick them."[3]

---

[1] Siguença, iii. p. 569.

[2] *Memorias de Fray Juan de San Gerónimo* in the *Documentos inéditos para la historia de España*, 4to, Madrid, 1845, tom. vii. pp. 90–113, which contain a very minute account of the ceremonies on the occasion, p. 112.

[3] Id. p. 113. The nephew seems to have been Gaspar Delgado, who commanded 300 arquebusiers sent against the Moriscos in 1569 at the Bishop's expense. See M. de Ximena, *Catálogo*, pp. 483 and 488.

CH. XI.
1558.

With his Empress, Charles was laid in a vault in front of the high altar. By the side of this magnificent altar, in a lofty niche, lined with precious jaspers, their monument forms an appropriate ornament of the most splendid chapel ever created by the sombre genius of Castilian art, and the lavished wealth of the New World. Wrought in bronze by Leoni, their fine effigies, in mantles superbly emblazoned, kneel in the attitude of prayer, with joined palms, and uncrowned heads, and eyes fixed on the holy shrine. "THOU, OF THE CHILDREN OF CHARLES THE FIFTH," says the inscription, "WHO SHALT SURPASS THE GLORY OF HIS ACTIONS, TAKE THIS PLACE: YE OTHERS REVERENTLY FORBEAR."[1]

Placed in the Pantheon by Philip IV. in 1654.

Remark of Philip II.

Eighty years afterwards the repose of the Emperor was again broken. Philip II. had provided a very simple vault for the reception of the ashes of his house, saying, "I have built a dwelling for God, let my son, if he will, build for his bones and ours." Philip III., accepting that humbler share of the work, commenced the celebrated Pantheon, which, after the labour of thirty-three years, was finished by Philip IV. On the 16th March 1654, the dust

[1] "HUNC LOCUM SI QUIS POSTER. CAROLO V. HABITAM GLORIAM RERUM GESTARUM SPLENDORE SUPERAVERIS, IPSE SOLUS OCCUPATO, CETERI REVERENTER ABSTINETE."

of the Austrian kings of Spain, and of their consorts who had continued the royal line, was translated to this splendid sepulchral chamber. Fray Juan de Avellanada pronounced a discourse on Ezekiel's text, "O ye dry bones, hear the word of the Lord!"[1] —a burst of intrepid panegyric, worthy of the audience, which, after warning future kings of Spain that they must live well if they wished to sleep by the side of the holy Philip II., the preacher closed with a prayer to that glorified prince and his royal companions in bliss to become his advocates before the throne of the Almighty.[2] Each of the seven coffins was carried by three nobles and three Jeronymite friars: the procession was headed by the remains of the fair Isabel of Bourbon, the first Queen of Philip IV., and it was closed by the dust of Charles V. After infinite splendid ceremonies, they were borne round the church in procession, and at last down the long marble staircase to their superb place of rest, which gleamed in the light of countless tapers and golden lamps, reflected from marble and jasper and gold, like a creation of Oriental romance. The grandees who bore the coffin of Charles were the Prime Minister Don Luis de Haro, the Duke of Abrantes,

[1] Ezek. xxxvii. 4.
[2] Los Santos, *Descripcion del Escorial*, ff. 183–4.

CH. XI.
1558.

and the Marquess of Aytona. As the body was deposited in the marble sarcophagus, the coverings were removed to enable Philip IV. to come face to face with his great ancestor. The corpse was found to be quite entire, and even some sprigs of sweet thyme, folded in the winding-sheet, retained, said the friars, all their vernal fragrance after the lapse of fourscore winters. After looking for some minutes in silence at the pale dead face of the hero of his line, the King turned to Haro, and said, "*Cuerpo honrado*, honoured body, Don Luis." "Very honoured," replied the minister; words brief indeed, but very pregnant, for the prior of the Escorial considered that they comprised all that a Christian ought to feel on so solemn an occasion.[1] The eloquence of the chaplain Avellanada obtained more solid recognition in the shape of a pension of 1,000 crowns.[2]

The Emperor's sarcophagus said to have been opened by Charles III. for Mr. Beckford.

Once again, at the distance of four generations, the Emperor's grave is said to have been opened by the descendant of that despised Anthony of Bourbon at whose claims on Navarre Charles had scoffed, and whose posterity had wrested from the house of Austria the sceptre of Spain and the

[1] "Exprimiendo Su Magestad en breves palabras todo aquel sentir, á que se puede alargar la piedad christiana en caso semejante." Los Santos, *Descripcion del Escorial*, fol., Madrid, 1657, fol. 156.

[2] *Voyage en Espagne*, 12mo, Cologne, 1667, p. 106.

CH. XI.

1787.

Indies. Mr. Beckford used to relate that, when he was leaving Madrid, Charles III., as a parting civility, desired to know what favour he would accept at his hands. The boon asked and granted was leave to see the face of Charles V., in order to test the fidelity of the portraits by Titian. The finest portraits of Charles, as well as his remains, were then still at the Escorial. The marble sarcophagus being moved from its niche and the lid raised, the lights of the Pantheon once more gleamed on the features of the dead Emperor. The pale brow and cheek, the slightly aquiline nose, the protruding lower jaw, the heavy Burgundian lip, and the sad and thoughtful expression, remained nearly as the Venetian had painted them, and unchanged since the eyelids had been closed by Quixada. There, too, were the sprigs of thyme, seen by Philip IV., and gathered seven ages before in the woods of Yuste.[1] [In 1867, Queen Isabella had the lids of all the sarcophagi again removed, and on that occasion "the form and features of

Again opened in 1867 by Queen Isabella.

[1] For this curious anecdote I am indebted to the kindness of Mr. Beckford's daughter, the Duchess of Hamilton. He had left, unfortunately, no note or memorandum of the fact, and therefore the date, and the names of the other witnesses of this singular spectacle, cannot now be recovered. His letters prove that he was at Madrid at the close of 1787 and in the spring of 1795. I have been unable to obtain any corroborative evidence from Spain, and therefore the story must be taken simply as told by Mr. Beckford.

CH. XI.
1867.

Charles V. were found nearly intact . . . and so little altered . . . that they could be easily identified by those who had seen the portraits by Titian. The face of his son Philip II. had shrunk greatly; but all were reported to be in good condition![1] Again, on the 9th December 1870 the sarcophagus of the Emperor was uncovered, when the body was found still to be remarkably well preserved.[2]]

Those who have read this record of the last years of Charles V. may perhaps desire to know

[1] *The Sunny South: a Winter in Spain and Majorca*, by J. W. Clayton, 8vo, London, 1869, p. 150.

[2] Extract from a private letter from the Right Hon. A. H. Layard, British Minister at Madrid, to the Earl of Granville, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, sent to me by Lady Augusta Stanley, by the Queen's desire:—

"*Madrid, 10th December* 1870.—Yesterday Sagosta gave the diplomatic body a breakfast at the Escorial, principally to enable us to see Charles V., whose urn has been recently opened. The body is remarkably well preserved, although I could not trace the likeness which some persons pretended to see in Titian's great portrait. The only feature in the countenance which is sufficiently preserved to identify the body with Titian's pictures and the contemporary descriptions of the Emperor is the peculiar Austrian chin, which was so characteristic of his descendants. The little beard which remains is of a dark red colour. On the head is a skull-cap embroidered with gold, and the body is wrapped in white linen. The hands and feet seemed to me exceedingly small."

On 17th May 1871, Mr. Layard wrote to me a brief account of the same curious incident, with a photograph of a drawing, made in the vault, of the Emperor's body, or, to use his exact words, "an oil sketch," by Señor Palmaroli. "It is sufficient," he writes, "to give you a good idea of what I saw. The body is wrapped in white linen and red silk. On the head is a skull-cap of white silk embroidered with gold. One or two persons present pretended that they could recognise the features from Titian's portrait, but this appeared to me an exaggeration. The only feature which bears this resemblance is the chin, which is very characteristic (as you will perceive by the photograph), and is

somewhat of the subsequent fortunes both of the personages who have figured in its pages, and of the convent of Yuste and its miniature palace.

Queen Mary of Hungary.

Queen Mary of Hungary did not live to complete her preparations for returning to the Netherlands. It was with great reluctance that she had consented to resume the government of these rich, restless, and refractory provinces. Three years before, she had pleaded for her release from it, on the ground that time had enfeebled her powers, and that a new spirit was abroad which called for a new policy, and the energies of a younger ruler. "It is but fitting," she wrote to the Emperor in the autumn of 1555, "that a woman who has lived fifty years, of which twenty-four have been spent in the service of the state, should be content, for the remainder of her days, to serve one God and one master. I see also growing up in this country a young and vigorous generation, to whose ways I cannot and will not accommodate mine. Men's loyalty and respect to God and to their King are so poisoned, not here only, but everywhere else, that I would not desire to continue in power were I a man, and an able one. Being, as I am, a

thoroughly Austrian. It is covered with a short *red* beard. The body is well preserved, for a mummy. The hands and feet are small and delicate. The sarcophagus has been again closed, and I hope it may remain so."

CH. XI.
1558.

woman, I assure your Majesty, that I would rather work for my bread than remain here at the head of affairs."[1] Yet to this anxious and arduous eminence, with faculties further impaired by time, and grief, and sickness, the entreaties of her brother had persuaded her to go back. Perhaps her active mind and frame, after a life of rapid marches and stormy councils, sank under the intolerable weight of leisure and repose. Towards the close of July, she had had a slight attack of small-pox; but early in August, she was sufficiently recovered to propose to accompany her niece, the Regent, in her visit to Yuste. At the beginning of September, she signified her willingness to return to Bruxelles, and began to prepare for the voyage. But her disorder returned with renewed violence later in the autumn, and she died at Cigales, on the 28th October 1558, five weeks after the death of her brother. On the night of her death, the barking bird[2] was once more seen and heard on the roof of the church of Yuste.[3] The will of Mary ordered that her funeral should be of the plainest kind; and that a small golden heart, which had belonged to her husband, and which she had always worn, should be melted down and the value given to the poor. "Separated by death," were the words

[1] *Papiers de Granvelle*, tom. iv. p. 476.
[2] See supra, p. 388.
[3] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 52.

of her testamentary allusion to her long-lost lord, "in love we have never been parted."[1] So passed away, in the same year, and within a few months of one another, the royal personages forming the remarkable group which had landed at Laredo. Sixteen years afterwards, their ashes were united at the Escorial, Queen Eleanor being brought from her provisional resting-place at Merida, and Queen Mary from the royal abbey of San Benito at Valladolid. Their bronze effigies, royally robed, kneel behind those of Charles and his Empress, with clasped hands and prayerful faces turned to the magnificent high altar.

Death of Queen Mary of England.

The death of Mary Tudor, Queen of England and Spain, concurred with the fortune of the war to dispose both the French and the Spanish monarchs to peaceful counsels. Philip the Prudent immediately began to look around him for an advantageous match, worthy of the matrimonial genius of Austria. After some new coquetting with the court of Portugal for the forsaken Infanta, he fixed upon the beautiful Elizabeth of Valois,[2] daughter of the King of France. His second wife was a middle-aged Queen, who had been affianced to his father; his third, a Princess in the bloom of girlhood, betrothed to his son, Don Carlos. The Duke of Alba married her, as proxy for his master, in June 1559;

Third marriage of Philip II.

[1] M. Juste, *Revue Nationale de Belgique*, tom. xvii. p. 29.

[2] [Known as Isabella of the Peace.]

CH. XI.
1559.

and Margaret, sister of Henry II., at the same time gave her hand to the Duke of Savoy. It was

ISABELLA OF VALOIS, THIRD QUEEN OF PHILIP II.

at the tournament held in honour of this double alliance, that the eye of Henry was pierced by the fatal splinter of Montgomery's lance. Old

CH. XI.
1558.

Pope Paul IV., no less vehement in his quarrels with his Caraffa nephews when he had discovered their unworthiness,[1] than in previous quarrels with half Christendom for their advantage, soon followed his ally to the grave. Philip was now able to return to Spain. He arrived at Valladolid, and assumed the government on the 8th September; and the auspicious event was celebrated by an *auto-de-fé*, at which the galleries and the scaffold were brilliantly filled with orthodox grandees and heretic victims. Among the courtiers appeared the Count of Oropesa bearing the sword of state, the symbol of so much cruel injustice. It was at this butchery that Philip uttered the sentiment which so gladdened the hearts and strengthened the hands of the savage priesthood. Don Carlos de Sesa, one of the noblest and best of the sufferers, as he passed beneath the royal balcony, appealed to the King to know the cause for which he was sentenced to die. "I would myself," said Philip, "carry the wood to burn my own son, were he a heretic like you."[2]

His return to Spain.

The Infanta Juana, Princess of Brazil,[3] relieved of her regency by the arrival of the King, and still dis-

The Princess-Regent Juana.

[1] The story is well told by Antonio de Herrera, *Primera parte de la Historia del Mundo*, 1554-70, large 8vo, Valladolid, 1606, lib. v. cap. 13 pp. 363-5. [See also Duruy, *Le Cardinal Carlo Carafa*, Paris, 1883, and *The Story of the Caraffa*, translated from an original MS. by the Rev. Canon Robert C. Jenkins, M.A., 12mo, London, 1886.]

[2] Cabrera, *D. Filipe II.*, p. 236.

[3] [Supra, chap. ii. p. 53.]

CH. XI.
1558.

appointed in her hopes of obtaining the regency of Portugal, brought her brief secular career to a close at the age of twenty-three. Retiring to Madrid, she there founded a nunnery, selecting her first barefooted recluses, by the advice of Father Borja, from the Franciscan convent of Santa Clara, at Gandia. Some years before, a certain holy confessor of that house, praying one night alone in the chapel, at the shrine of Our Lady of Grace, beheld seven stars glide from under the Virgin's mantle, and revolve, each in its course, around the dim aisles. These stars, it was revealed to him, represented seven new convents, of which the Gandian house was to be the mother. Six of the offshoots had already sprung; the piety of the Infanta now provided the last, in the royal nunnery of Our Lady of Consolation, of which the first abbess was a Borja and aunt[1] of the Jesuit. This convent soon became one of the finest in Madrid, and no less remarkable for its stately cloister and pleasant gardens than for the piety of its noble virgins, who for awhile had for their confessor Fray Nicolas Factor, the canonised Capuchin and painter of Valencia. Here Doña Juana devoted herself, for the remainder of her days, to religious exercises, not assuming the veil, yet becoming every year more strict in her self-imposed

[1] R. Mendez Silva says, "media hermana." *Vida de la Imperatriz Maria*, fol., Madrid, 1655, p. 39.

rule of life. Her favourite relaxation was to take the air at the country palace of the Pardo, attended by a band of musicians; but even this harmless pleasure she soon abandoned as sinful. Her chief occupation was embroidering scarves and handkerchiefs, which she likewise displayed great skill in selling at a high price to her courtly visitors for the benefit of the poor. If a confessor of reputation came to Madrid, she would go wrapped in her mantle and veil, and kneel in her turn among the crowd of penitents who flocked to his grated chair. Her joy was to enrich her convent with relics, which she enshrined in caskets of silver and gold; and in the chapel where they were kept, she made herself an oratory, which became her place of daily resort for meditation and prayer, or, as a biographer called it, "the Aranjuez of her devout pleasures, the Pardo of her spiritual delights." But, in spite of her secluded habits, Brantôme, with what truth I know not, asserts that she wished to marry Charles IX. of France, a prince fourteen years younger than herself, and that she heard with a pang of bitter disappointment that her niece, the Archduchess Elizabeth, had made her bridal entry into Paris.[1] Dying after a short illness at the Escorial, in 1573, Doña Juana was buried in her favourite convent at Madrid, five

[1] Brantôme, *Œuvres*, 8 vols. 8vo, Paris, 1787, ii. p. 541.

CH. XI.
1558.

years before her son, Don Sebastian, was slain in battle by the Moors of Barbary. Shortly after her death, Fray Nicolas Factor, saying a mass for her soul, beheld her in a vision, attended by St. Mary Magdalene, St. Ines, and St. Dorothea, which he took for a sign that she was already released from the pains of purgatory.[1] Her sister, the widowed Empress Mary,[2] came to Madrid, in 1581, and fixed her abode in the convent of Our Lady of Consolation, where her daughter, the Archduchess Margaret, refusing to share the throne of Spain, took the veil, and lived, for fifty years, a burning and a shining light amongst the devout virgins of Castile.[3]

Luis Quixada.

From registering the effects of the dead Emperor, Luis Quixada passed into the service of the reigning King. The letter in which he narrated, on the 30th September, the principal circumstances of the imperial deathbed to Philip, concluded with these words:—"For myself, I will not be importunate

[1] Christ. Moreno, *Vida de Nicolas Factor*, 4to, Barcelona, 1618, p. 178. The other particulars of the Princess's life are taken from Fr. Juan Carillo, *Relacion histórica de la real fundacion del monasterio de las descalzas de S^ta. Clara de Madrid, de las vidas de D^a. Juana de Austria, su fundadora, y de la Emperatriz Maria su hermana*, &c., 4to, Madrid, 1616. See also Ger. de Quintana, *Historia de Madrid*, fol., Madrid, 1629, fol. 412.

[2] R. Mendez Silva, *Admirable Vida y heroycas virtudes de aquel glorioso blazon de España, fragrante azucena de la cesarea casa de Austria, &c., la Emperatriz Maria*, 4to, Madrid, 1655.

[3] Fr. Juan de Palma, *Vida de la serenissima Infanta S^or. Margarita de la Cruz*, fol., Madrid, 1636.

with your Majesty, but only ask you to remember that I have served your father, to the best of my power, for thirty-seven years, and that I will serve you to my life's end." Philip had an early occasion to observe the fidelity and tact with which the old soldier could fulfil a trust and keep a secret. Immediately after the death of Charles, it was whispered at Valladolid that there lived in Quixada's family a lad who was supposed to be his master's son; and the rumour reaching the ear of the Regent, secretary Vazquez de Molina, by her desire, wrote confidentially to the chamberlain, to inquire if it were true. Quixada replied[1] that a boy, who had been committed to his care, some years before, by a friend whom he could not name, certainly resided in his house; but what reason was there for supposing that his parentage had been correctly surmised, when the Emperor had mentioned his name neither in his will, nor in the codicil affixed to it? Not satisfied with this answer, Vazquez seems to have repeated the question, which was again evaded.[2] Meanwhile Quixada applied to the King, whom he knew to be in the secret, for instructions. He again wrote, on the 13th December, from Valladolid, saying

[1] [On 18th October. Gachard, *Retraite et mort. Lettres Inédites*, tom. i. pp. 435–6. *Don John of Austria*, vol. i. pp. 19–20.]

[2] [Gachard, *Retraite et mort*, tom. i. p. 441. *Don John of Austria*, vol. i. p. 20.]

CH. XI.
1558.

that the matter was much discussed, but that he always denied any knowledge of it, and should continue to hold the same language, even to the Regent, who had hitherto had the goodness to ask no questions. Being aware, as he was, of the King's desire that nothing should be made public until he himself arrived in Spain, he had taken every precaution to insure secrecy; but he had nevertheless been careful that the boy should be educated according to his quality in life.

From court Quixada and his wife soon retired, with Don John, to Villagarcia. When Philip II. came to Spain, in 1559, he appointed his brother and his guardian to meet him near the neighbouring convent of San Pedro de la Espina. Quixada assembled his vassals, and rode forth in state with his charge, having first made the secret of his birth known to Doña Magdalena, and asked pardon for having so long withheld it from her. They met the King in a wild rocky glen, in the chase of Torozos, and were graciously received, Philip, who had come thither under pretext of hunting, remarking that he had never captured game which had given him so much pleasure.[1] They afterwards followed the court to Madrid, where Quixada had an opportunity of once more signalising his devotion to his master's

Don John of Austria received by Philip II.

[1] Villafañe, *Vida de Dª. Magd. de Ulloa*, pp. 49–50, 52.

DON JOHN OF AUSTRIA.

son, by rescuing him from a fire, which burnt down their house in the night, before he attended to the safety of Doña Magdalena. His loss by this fire amounted to 100,000 ducats, besides the destruction of his family archives. His services were not neglected by the King, who made him master of the horse to the heir-apparent, and President of the Council of the Indies, and gave him also the commanderies of Viso, El Moral, and Santa Cruz de Argamasilla, considerable benefices in the Order of Calatrava.[1]

Don John's command against the Moriscos.

When Don John was sent, in the spring of 1569, to command against the Moriscos,[2] whom Christian oppression and bad faith had driven to revolt in the Alpuxarras, the old mayordomo went with him as a military tutor, with the rank of general of infantry. Luis de Avila served in the same expedition. At the beginning of the campaign Quixada was attacked with fever, which his constitution could not throw off as it might have done in the old days of Africa or Flanders. He was still more afflicted by the bad discipline of the camp, which was filled with raw recruits attracted by the hope of plunder, or, as he

[1] El Moral was worth, in 1659, 7,500 ducats annually; *Journal du Voyage en Espagne*, 4to, Paris, 1682, p. 369. Argamasilla had been previously held by the favourite Ruy Gomez de Silva, *Hist. de la Casa de Silva*, ii. p. 464.

[2] [See *Don John of Austria*, chap. vii. vol. i. p. 147, *et seq.*]

CH. XI. 1570.

described them in one of his latest letters,[1] "thinking less of fighting than of robbing God and man." In the spring of 1570, as he and Don John were reconnoitring the strong mountain-fortress of Seron, a bold sally from the place threw the Castilians into confusion, bordering on flight. Quixada was engaged in rallying and reassuring them, when a ball from an infidel gun brought his campaigns to a close. Shot through the shoulder, he fell by the side of his pupil, from whose helmet a ball glanced as he covered the retreat of the party who bore the wounded veteran from his last field.[2] Carried to Canilles, Quixada died there on the 25th February 1570, in the arms of his wife, who had hastened from Madrid to nurse him.[3] Don John mourned for him as for a father, and buried him with military honours in the church of the Jerony-mite friars at Baza, whence his bones were afterwards removed to Villagarcia.

Quixada's death.

When the good Doña Magdalena left the Christian camp, Don John rode for some miles beside her litter, and embraced her tenderly when they parted. During the rest of the campaign, amidst the fatigues and anxieties of command, he seized

Doña Magdalena de Ulloa.

[1] To the Prince of Eboli; Villafañe, *Vida de Dª. Magd. de Ulloa*, p. 74.
[2] Luys de Marmol Carvajal, *Historia del rebelion y castigo de los Moriscos de Granada*, fol., Malaga, 1600, fol. 195.
[3] Villafañe, *Vida de Dª. Magd. de Ulloa*, p. 78.

Extracts from letters of Don John.

every opportunity of writing to her; and one of his hurried letters from the field, recurring to their mutual loss, concludes with these affectionate words:—"Luis died as became him, fighting for the glory and safety of his son, and covered with immortal honour. Whatever I am, whatever I shall be, I owe to him, by whom I was formed, or rather begotten, in a nobler birth. Dear sorrowing widowed mother! I only am left to you, and to you indeed do I of right belong, for whose sake Luis died, and you have been stricken with this woe. Moderate your grief with your wonted wisdom. Would that I were near you now, to dry your tears, or mingle them with mine! Farewell, dearest and most honoured mother! and pray to God to send back your son from these wars to your bosom." [1] We may be sure Magdalena's oratory was the scene of many such prayers. In another letter, during the same campaign, Don John thanks her for her regularity in answering his letters, and in satisfying the chief desire of his heart to know that she is well:—"I shall endeavour," he adds, "to steer my course as much as I can in conformity with the advice of your ladyship, whom I entreat ever to grant me a hearing, for there is no one whom I so much desire

[1] Preserved in a Latin dress in *Joannis Austriaci vita, auctore Antonio Osorio*, a MS. in the National Library at Madrid, for a transcript of which I am indebted to my friend Don Pascual de Gayangos.

CH. XI.
1576.

to satisfy as her to whom I owe my bringing up, and the place in the world which I now hold, (obligations) which I will acknowledge even in my grave." [1]

The childless widowhood of Doña Magdalena was passed at her husband's house of Villagarcia, and was chiefly spent in works of charity and devotion, performed for the benefit of his soul. For her darling young prince she busied herself in occupations of a more practical and secular kind; and the hero of Lepanto wore no linen but what was fashioned by her loving hands. The filial affection with which he always regarded her is one of the most pleasing features in his wayward character and chequered history; he never came back to Spain without paying her a visit, or went to the wars without bidding her farewell.[2] It was to her that he brought the block of wood from the true cross, presented to him by Pope Pius V. as the most precious guerdon in his power to bestow on the conqueror of the Turk.[3] When she was founding

Don John's affection for her.

[1] This letter is preserved in the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, *Miscellanies of the Jesuits*, vol. lxxii., fol. The end, with the date, is unfortunately wanting; but there is internal evidence that it was written in the summer, probably in August or September, of 1570. For a transcript of it I am indebted to Don Pascual de Gayangos. [The text and translation are given by the author in his *Don John of Austria*, vol. ii. pp. 372–7.]

[2] Vanderhammen, *Vida de D. Juan de Austria*, fol. 292.

[3] Villafañe, *Vida de Dª. Magd. de Ulloa*, p. 274.

her college at Villagarcia, in 1576, Don John wrote to the Pope's secretary to ask for the necessary licenses, enforcing his request with these words:—"There is nothing I so much desire as to gratify the wish of this lady, whom I regard as my own mother."[1] In 1577, as he took leave of her, on going to govern the Netherlands, she was seized with a presentiment of evil, and instituted daily masses for his health. Her forebodings were just; for within two years, into which had been compressed an age of toil, anxiety, and mortification, he lay on his deathbed at Namur, raving, in his delirium, of battle-fields, and leaving, as his last message to the brother, who was suspected of repaying his loyal service with poison, the request that his bones might be laid near the dust of their sire at the Escorial.[2]

Doña Magdalena's chief tie to the world was now broken. For awhile, she adopted Don John's natural daughter Anna; but she placed the child, at the age of seven years, in a convent at Madrigal, where she afterwards took the veil. Religion had then no rival in the widow's heart; and her days were passed in doing good, after the fashion prescribed by her Jesuit counsellors. The most important of her pious works were the Jesuits' college

[1] Villafañe, *Vida de Dª. Magd. de Ulloa*, p. 284.
[2] Vanderhammen, *Vida de D. Juan de Austria*, fol. 324.

CH. XI.

1580.

Her Jesuits' church and college at Villagarcia.

and church of San Luis, at Villagarcia. In 1580, the buildings were sufficiently advanced to admit of the consecration of the church. The visitor and other dignitaries of the company were present at the ceremony, to which Doña Magdalena had also invited many of her noble relations and friends from Valladolid. The next day, her devotion to the Society of Jesus was put to a severe test. After mass, she proposed to her guests to inspect the collegiate buildings. But they had hardly entered the cloister when the rector met them, bearing the positive commands of the visitor that they should immediately retire. The foundress was silent with astonishment; but her friends, especially the ladies, were loud in their indignation. Her brother, the Marquess de La Mota, who had always looked coldly on her pious munificence, flinging his gloves on the pavement, cried, "I would rather have seen this than be King of Castile. Now, my lady, you will understand the people you have been wasting your wealth upon, and the kind of gratitude which they bear you." Magdalena endured with equal meekness the insolence of the priest and the taunts of her friends. The Jesuit had acted on a too strict interpretation of a brief of Pope Pius V. When the affair was known at Rome, the general of the company, Everardo Mercuriano, wrote to her to explain and excuse the treatment which she had

Insolence of the visitor of the company to her and her friends.

received, and to assure her that he had issued orders for her to have leave to see the building which she had founded. He also wrote to the rector of the college, ordering him to do all in his power to remove any unpleasant feeling which might remain in her mind, and to recover the ground which the company might have lost in her esteem. That little ground had been lost Magdalena soon made evident by continued benefactions to the institution, as well as by founding two other colleges at Santander and Oviedo. Nor were her alms-deeds confined to the company; she founded an hospital at Villagarcia, and a nunnery and a penitentiary at Valladolid; she sent several missions to Barbary for the redemption of captives; she spent large sums in portioning orphan brides; and her bounty furnished many a silver chalice and paten to the rural churches of Biscay and Asturias. Her life of kindly deeds and blameless enthusiasm came to an end in 1598, when she was laid beside her lord in the collegiate church of Villagarcia. Amongst the relics of that temple, two crucifixes were held in peculiar veneration, one being that which Magdalena had pressed to her dying lips, the other a trophy rescued, by the Emperor's old companion in arms, from a Moorish bonfire in the Alpuxarras.[1]

Her other foundations and alms-deeds.

Her death.

[1] Villafañe, *Vida de M. de Ulloa*, pp. 78, 443.

CH. XI.

1570.

Quixada's disposition of his estate.

Having no children, Quixada, according to the fashion of his age and nation, declared his soul his heir. On the death of his widow, to whom the life-rent of his whole estate was left, all that part of his property which was in his own power was to be devoted to charitable uses—uses to which the income of Magdalena was also, as we have seen, almost exclusively devoted. The ancient *mayorazgo*, or entailed estate of the family, passed to an Ocampo, a son of Luis's paternal aunt, who was directed to assume the name of Quixada, and the arms, chequers *azure* and *argent*, bordered with the bearings, wolves *gules* on a field *or*, of the Osorios.[1] Villagarcia is now the property of the Count of Santa Coloma, to whom has likewise descended a portrait of Luis Quixada.[2] The bronzed old soldier is represented as a man of goodly presence; his dark eyes beam with sagacity; and his mouth, shaded by a thick well-trimmed beard, is stamped with firmness of purpose. In a rich though sober suit of black and brown, his red-cross hung from his neck by a gold chain, he stands, staff in hand, as he may have presented himself in the ante-chamber of the Regent at Valladolid.

His portrait now at Madrid.

[1] Villafañe, *Vida de M. de Ulloa*, pp. 27, 81.

[2] [By Titian; now in the possession of the Conde de Oñate at Madrid, and of which a wood engraving is here given.]

LUIS QUIXADA.

William Van Male,[1] the amiable and scholarly gentleman of the Emperor's chamber, returned to Flanders, with the slender annual pension of 150 florins, which was to be reduced to one half on his succeeding to the keepership of the palace of Bruxelles, a post of which the King had granted him the reversion. On 17th February 1561, Philip II. wrote from Toledo, to the Bishop of Arras, his minister in Flanders, that he had heard that Van Male was likely to compose a history of His Majesty, now in glory; that it was possible such a work might contain some things either untrue or unworthy of the merits of the deceased; and that therefore the Bishop had better institute a search, as if for some other purpose, amongst Van Male's papers, and if any such writing were found, send it to him to Spain, that it might be burned as it deserved.[2] The Emperor's poor scholar and faithful servant was happily saved from this indignity by the protecting hand of death. On 7th March, Arras replied from Bruxelles, that Van Male having died[3] before the receipt of the King's letter, he himself had already taken the precaution of searching amongst his papers for

William Van Male.

Correspondence between Philip II. and the Bishop of Arras, respecting his papers.

Death of Van Male.

[1] [Supra, chap. iv. pp. 106–108.]
[2] *Papiers de Granvelle*, vi. p. 273.
[3] [On 1st January 1561. Kervyn de Letterhove, *Commentaires* (quoted supra, p. 93, note). Introduction, p. xxxi.]

CH. XI.
1561.

historical documents or notes, but that none had been found. A good many days before his death, Van Male himself, he reported, had been observed to tear up and burn a large quantity of papers. He had also been often heard, by his intimate friends, to lament, even with tears, that Luis Quixada, soon after the Emperor's decease, had taken from him, almost by force, the Memoirs which His Majesty and he had composed; and to say that he hoped nevertheless one day to write, from memory, an account of his master, and that he should have already begun the work had it not been for the infirm state of his health.[1] If this report of Van Male's table-talk be true, it seems plain that the loss of the curious Memoirs of Charles V. composed by himself, and translated into Latin by an elegant scholar—if indeed they are lost, and not only buried in some forgotten hoard of Spanish historic lore—may be added to the black catalogue of the misdeeds of his dull, bigotted, and cruel son.[2] Van

[1] *Papiers de Granvelle*, vi. p. 290.

[2] [In 1862, M. Le Baron Kervyn de Letterhove published his *Commentaires de Charles-Quint*, 8vo, Bruxelles, pp. xlv. 209; a French translation of a Portuguese translation which he brought to light in the Imperial Library of Paris (Introduction, p. xxxvii.) entitled *Historia del Invictissimo Emperador Carlos-Quinto, rey de Hespanha, composta por sua Majestade Cesarea, como se vee do papel que vai em a seguinte folha, traduzida da lingoa francesa e do proprio original, em Madrid, anno* 1620; from which he concludes that in 1620, in the reign of Philip III. and during the ministry of the Duque de Uzeda, the original MS. of the Commentaries still existed at Madrid. He adds that, in 1623,

Male was interred in the church of St. Gudule, at Bruxelles, where his widow, Hippolyta Reynen, was laid by his side in 1579. Their epitaph praised the probity and various learning of the husband, and the piety and prudence of the wife.[1] Their son Charles considerably bettered the fortunes of the family; he was ambassador in France in 1598, and one of the negotiators of the treaty of Verviers for the Archduchess Infanta Isabella; their grandson, Aurelius Augustus, died in Madrid in 1662, first member of the Supreme Council of the

---

Gilles Gonzalez de Avila, Historiographer to Philip III., again asserted the existence of the Commentaries, and had perhaps seen them.

The note mentioned above, on the second leaf of the Portuguese MS. is as follows: *Treslado do papel que esta em o principio desta historia, escritto per mão propria do Emperador Carlos V. em a lingoa castelhana, o qual papel Sua Majestade mandou d'Alemanha com a mesma historia a el Rey don Philippe seu filho que então era principe de Hespanha* (p. xl.)

Sir William Stirling-Maxwell, in a MS. note on his copy of the book, says: "These Memoirs or Commentaries, though composed with considerable skill and knowledge of the history of the time, do not seem to me to be genuine. A curious slip occurs on p. 114, which could hardly have happened to Charles V., or even to any one writing in the sixteenth century. The Elector Palatine Frederick is there spoken of as "*alors Electeur*," as if he or his house had been deposed from the electoral dignity afterwards or during the Emperor's life. The electoral dignity was not taken away till the following century."

An English translation of the Commentaries was published by Leonard Francis Simpson, M.R.S.L., as *The Autobiography of the Emperor Charles V.*, sm. 8vo, London, 1862, pp. xlviii. 161.]

[1] It is cited by M. de Reiffenberg (*Lettres de G. Van Male*, p. 23), and gives January 1, 1560, as the date of Van Male's death, which M. Gachard thinks reconcilable with the date in the *Granvelle Papers*, by allowing for the two ways of counting the years from the 1st January or from Easter. See the *Bulletin de l'Acad. Roy. de Bruxelles*, 11th January 1845.

CH. XI.
1565.

Netherlands, in the service of Philip IV., and was buried in the church of St. Andrew, beneath an epitaph which was a long relation of dignities and virtues.[1]

Martin de Gaztelu.

Of Martin de Gaztelu, the prudent and painstaking secretary of the Emperor, my researches have discovered no further trace, beyond the fact that he assisted at the final obsequies of his late master at the Escorial, in 1574.

Guyon de Moron.

Guyon de Moron, keeper of the imperial wardrobe, is supposed to be identical with Guillaume de Moron, Lord of Terny and Beaumont. On his return to Burgundy, he had a dispute with the family of Cardinal Granvelle, about certain malversations, alleged by him to have been committed by the great man's relations, in the administration of the royal salt-mines. Joining the political party opposed to the Cardinal, he repaired to Madrid in 1565, to lay his complaint at the foot of the throne. There, however, he was denounced to the Inquisition, an admirable engine for ridding a powerful minister of a troublesome opponent; and his revelations on the salt question were eternally silenced at the stake.[2]

The two physicians Mathys returned to the Nether-

[1] Reiffenberg, *Lettres de G. Van Male*, pp. xxiii., xxx., xxxii.

[2] G. Groen Van Prinsterer, *Archives de la maison d'Orange-Nassau*, 8vo, Leide, 1835, vol. i. See the letter from the Prince of Orange to Count Louis of Nassau, 30th August 1565, p. 277.

1559.

lands. Henry wrote a treatise on the aphorisms of Hippocrates, and was made physician to the King. Dying in 1565, at Bruxelles, he was buried in the church of St. Gudule, beneath an epitaph placed there by his widow and children.[1] Doctor Cornelio, who had also translated into Latin a Greek book on the healing art, enjoyed a great practice, in pursuing which he was killed by a fall from his horse.[2]

Dr. Henry Mathys.

Dr. Cornelio Mathys.

From the vigils and dirges of Yuste, Fray Juan de Regla hastened to court to await the arrival of the King.[3] As prior of Santa Engracia, he had been compelled to retract certain heterodox tenets at the bar of the Inquisition. Nevertheless, he now employed his leisure in drawing up two informations against the Archbishop of Toledo, which he lodged in the Holy Office. The principal facts alleged against the prelate were, that at Yuste he had given the Emperor absolution before receiving his confession,

Fray Juan de Regla.

---

[1] Val. Andreas, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 4to, Louvaine, 1683, p. 362. Jo. Fr. Foppens, *Bibliotheca Belgica*, 2 vols. 4to, Bruxelles, 1739, i. p. 457. *Biographie des hommes remarquables de la Flandre Occidentale*, 4 vols. 8vo, Bruges, 1843, i. p. 314.

[2] Foppens, *Bib. Belg.*, i. p. 203. His book was *Auctuarii Joannis Zachariæ filii methodi medendi*, libri vi., 4to, Venetiis, 1554. 8vo, Paris, 1555. *Biog. de la Fland. Occid.*, i. p. 303.

[3] Leti (*Vita di Carlo V.*) often cites, and sometimes quotes a document which he calls *Vita e morte di Carlo Cesare nel deserto* by Fray Juan de Regla, but which, being unnoticed by any other author, was probably a fiction of his own busy brain. Perhaps he meant the paper by prior Angulo, about which he may have read in Sandoval.

CH. XI.
1559.

and that he had bid him be of good cheer, because his sins were wholly washed away by the blood of Christ. These allegations were supported strongly by the testimony of some of the friars of Yuste, and slightly by that of Don Luis de Avila. Villalva, on the other hand, declared that he had heard nothing unorthodox fall from the Archbishop's lips; while Quixada maintained a politic neutrality, saying he believed that the Primate spoke to the Emperor about the remission of sins, but that his own duties had prevented him from attending to the words.[1]

When the King returned to Spain, the confessor was graciously received. Honoured with a long audience, he gave Philip an account of the Emperor's retirement and death, and told him certain secrets respecting Don John of Austria, confided to him by the dying man for the ear of his successor. It may be fairly supposed that the friar discreetly suppressed his own suggestions, if, indeed, they were his, as to the alteration of the line of succession in Don John's favour:[2] for he was commanded to remain at court as one of the executors of the Emperor's will, and received an order for the payment of his pension out of the royal revenues in the see of Calahorra. When the business of the executorship was closed, he re-

[1] Llorente, *Historia de la Inquisicion de España*, cap. xviii., art. 2, 8 tom., 12mo, Barcelona, 1835, iii. pp. 238–43.

[2] Supra, chap. x. p. 346.

turned to Zaragoza, and was again chosen prior of Sta. Engracia. In the autumn of 1568 he was employed to convey to the Escorial some of the earliest treasures of the reliquary, fragments of the holy corpses of the parents of St. Lorenzo, and of St. Justo and St. Pastor. These two young martyrs did him the honour of appearing at several of the early masses which he performed during the journey, and even of serving him in the capacity of acolytes.[1] He was afterwards elected prior of the Jeronymite convent at Madrid, a house rich with the gifts of kings and queens, and much frequented and favoured by the royal family; and, ere long, in spite of his repugnance to the custody of a royal conscience, he accepted the post of confessor to His Majesty. We are assured by his panegyrist that he bore these honours with exemplary meekness and moderation, asking for favours only for his convent, and referring all petitioners who besought his influence in the closet, either to the tribunals of justice or to the ministers of state. Of his annual pension he gave one fourth to the poor of Calahorra, and the rest to his Jeronymite brethren at Zaragoza. But if he were free from avarice and political intrigue, he was deeply stained with another vice of his calling. His hate was bitter and inextinguish-

[1] Siguença, iii. p. 558.

CH. XI. 1574.

able, and displayed itself in the eager and unscrupulous zeal with which he ran at the head of the pack that hunted the unfortunate Archbishop Carranza into the castle of St. Angelo. He died of fever in the summer of 1574, in the rising cloisters of the Escorial.[1] During his residence in Italy he had formed, chiefly at Venice, a considerable collection of books, amounting to 2,435 volumes. As a last token of filial love, these were bequeathed to his mother convent of S^ta. Engracia,[2] and were accordingly added to its noble library, famous for literary treasures, and for the lovely prospect seen from its windows, extending over the garden of the Ebro to the snowy peaks of the Pyrenees.[3] S^ta. Engracia also possessed his writings—*Notes on the Council of Trent*, and a volume of *Sermons*, which, either because they wanted merit or because the convent wanted gratitude, have never been printed.[4] Here the great historian of Aragon, Gerónimo Çurita,

[1] Siguença, iii. p. 448.

[2] The bones of S^ta. Engracia, V.M., were discovered in a marble chest in digging the foundations of the church in 1389; they were rose-coloured, which was supposed to authenticate them. The subterranean church, where these and other relics were kept, was extremely rich and beautiful. Thirty silver lamps burned there day and night, and though the ceiling was not above twelve feet high, the white roof was never sullied by the smoke. The church and convent were the French head-quarters in 1808, and were utterly destroyed. See Southey, *History of the Peninsular War*, 6 vols. 8vo, London, 1828, vol. ii. pp. 19–25.

[3] Vinc. Blasco de Lanuza, *Historia de Aragon*, 2 tom. 4to, Zaragoza, 1622, i. 110.

[4] F. de Latassa, *Bibliotécas de Escritores Aragoneses*, vol. i. p. 317.

spent the latter years of his life, observing the rules of the community, though not a member of the order, and here he was buried, as also was his countryman and fellow-labourer, Gerónimo de Blancas.

Fray Francisco de Villalva.

Fray Francisco de Villalva, on the return of Philip II. to Spain, was appointed one of his preachers, and was ever afterwards much in his confidence in ecclesiastical affairs. In framing the constitution of the convent of the Escorial, in which the Jeronymites saw with exultation their ancient seats of Lupiana and Guadalupe outdone in magnificence, Villalva was constantly consulted. He was likewise employed to report on the claim of the metropolitan church of Toledo to retain a missal and breviary of its own in spite of a decree of the Council of Trent; and he drew up, on this subject, a paper so learned and so lucid, that it silenced, and, his friends said, convinced, the successor of St. Ildefonso and his chapter of golden canons. Preaching before the King at the Escorial on Easter day 1575, Villalva was seized, as he descended from the pulpit, with an illness of which he died in a few days. Notwithstanding his fame as a preacher, none of his sermons appears to have found its way to the press; but as his celebrated discourse at the Emperor's funeral at Yuste was handed about in manuscript, and sent both to the Regent at Valladolid and to the

King at Bruxelles, it is possible that it may still survive in some of the older libraries of Spain or the Netherlands.[1]

Fray Juan de Açoloras.

The preacher Fray Juan de Açoloras was general of the Order of Jerome from 1558 to 1561; he was afterwards named by the King as one of the commissioners to examine the famous propositions of Archbishop Carranza; and he eventually harangued his way to the patriarchal chair and the mitre of the Canaries.[2]

Fray Juan de Santandres.

Fray Juan de Santandres, the third preacher, ended his days as friar of his convent at Talavera, the chief incident and reward of his harmless and obscure life being, that it was vouchsafed to him to foretell, at some distance of time, the exact day and hour of his own death.[3]

Fray Antonio de Villacastin.

Fray Antonio de Villacastin, the builder of the palace of Yuste, returned to his convent of La Sisla, near Toledo, and, for some years, performed the humbler functions of baker to the fraternity. When the building of the Escorial was commenced, in 1563, he was appointed master of the works; and, for forty years, he superintended the execution of every detail of the mighty fabric, from the hewing of the granite by Biscayan masons, to the painting of the frescoes

[1] Los Santos, *Hist. de San. Gerón.*, p. 515.
[2] Siguença, iii. pp. 207, 370. [3] Ibid., p. 193.

on wall or dome by Cambiaso or Tibaldi. His clear head, strong memory, cool temper, and sound practical knowledge enabled him to fill the post with great credit to himself, and to the general satisfaction both of those whose money he spent, and of those whose labours he directed. Philip II. was very fond of him; being attracted at first, it is said, by the retiring habits of the friar, who always retreated at his approach, and was caught in the end only by a stratagem; the King following him along the top of an unfinished wall, which afforded no way of evasion. In the course of his duties, he had his share of the hard knocks, and hairbreadth escapes, which are apt to occur among scaffoldings and cranes. Later in life, he was afflicted with a dangerous swelling in the arm, for which the surgeon threatened amputation. But one night, as he lay awake with the pain, he felt a pair of hands rubbing and kneading the diseased limb, which forthwith began to recover, and was as sound as the other in a few days. Fray Antonio then confided the fact to the prior Siguença, who agreed with him in believing that the mysterious manipulator was none other than the blessed St. Lawrence himself. When the huge monastery was completed, the eyes of Villacastin were attacked with cataract, which, not being operated upon by the saint of the gridiron, rendered the sufferer quite blind. He died in 1603, aged ninety, and he was

CH. XI.
1558.

interred, by his own desire, beneath the cloister-pavement, at the door of the cell in which he had so long lived and laboured. In the church of the Escorial, Luca Cambiaso has introduced the pale grave face of Villacastin, very near his own, in the group on the threshold of the "Glory of heaven," which he painted, in fresco, on the vaulted ceiling of the choir.

Giovanni Torriano.

From Yuste, Juanelo Torriano went to Toledo, where he was employed by the corporation to supply the city with water from the Tagus, which flows beneath its rock-built walls. Of this work he had, many years before, in Italy, constructed a model, at the suggestion of his patron, the Marquess del Vasto, who had come from Spain, enchanted with the noble old capital, and grieving for the dearth of water which it endured, though girdled with a deep and abundant stream. The merit of the plan belonged partly to Roberto Valturio, but many improvements were added by Torriano; the water being raised to the height of the Alcazar by an ingenious combination of wheels, placed in an edifice of brick built on the margin of the river. The learned Morales left a long description of the work, or *artificio*, as it was called, and lauded it as a miracle of mechanical genius. He likewise furnished a Latin inscription for a statue of the artist, with which it was at one time intended to crown the building, and a

copy of verses which conclude with these extravagant lines :—

"Aerias rupes jubet hunc transcendere ; paret ;
Atque hic sideribus proximus ecce fluit." [1]

He bids the Tagus scale the rocks, and lo !
Obedient, near the stars, the waters flow.

In the middle of the seventeenth century the work was still in use,[2] and was noticed by Quevedo in a Castilian lyric of a very different cast, in which some bantering praise is thus given to Torriano :—

"Flamenco dicen que fué
Y sorbedor de lo puro ;
Muy mal con el agua estaba
Que en tal trabajo la puso." [3]

Juanelo, 'tis clear, was fond of his beer,
And drank his *schnaps* neat, like a Fleming ;
No weakness or whim, for water, in him
The lymph to such labours condemning !

The Tagus-stream, however, soon rested from its labours ; for the mechanism falling to decay was never repaired ; and Toledo returned to her old

[1] Morales, *Antig. de España*, fol. 92.

[2] Monconys, *Voyages*, tom. iii. p. 31, speaks of it, in 1628, as out of repair and use. "Water is pumped up from the river to the castle ; but formerly it was raised by a very ingenious invention which they called the *ingenio de Juanelo*. It consisted of a number of boxes of white iron which the river itself filled and caused to empty themselves into each other, until the height was attained."

[3] *Itinerario desde Madrid á su torre*, *Obras*, 3 tom. 4to, Brussels, 1660–61. *Poesias*, p. 420.

CH. XI.
1585.

Tantalus-state, and that simpler hydraulic machinery, of mules and water-jars, to which she still adheres. Although the building or shell of the works, a kind of gallery built in stages, and rising to the level of the Alcazar, long remained intact,[1] it has at last yielded to the tooth of time, or the more destructive hand of man, and a few ruined brick arches on the right bank of the river, below the bridge, are now the sole remains of the work of the ingenious Lombard. He was afterwards engaged at Madrid, in making some draw-wells on an improved principle. But Toledo continued to be his home, and he died there, leaving a daughter, in 1585, and was buried in the convent of the Carmen. The street in which he lived is still called "the street of the wooden man," "*calle del hombre de palo*," in memory, says tradition, of a puppet, of his making, which used to walk daily to the archiepiscopal palace, and return laden with an allowance of bread and meat, after doing ceremonious obeisance to the donor.[2] The city of Toledo honoured Torriano with a medal, bearing his head, shaggy, bearded, and stern; on the reverse was a gushing fountain, supported on

[1] *Journal du Voyage d'Espagne*, 4to, Paris, 1669, p. 54. The author, generally supposed to be M. Boisel, Councillor of the Parliament of Paris, travelled in 1659. He describes the works as ruined, but the building, "une gallerie que va en rampant," as being "encore en son entier." It may be seen in one of the etchings of Toledo, by Mennier, 1660.

[2] Ponz, *Viage*, i. pp. 161–2, where the medal is engraved.

the head of a nymph, and surrounded by thirsty ancients, with the inscription, VIRTVS. NVNQVAM. DEFICIT, the mechanician's favourite motto. His bust, finely executed in marble, perhaps by Berruguete, still adorns the cabinet of natural history in the archbishop's palace at Toledo.[1] His portrait, inscribed with his name and the medal-motto, likewise hangs in the smaller cloister of the Escorial.[2]

Fray Francisco Borja.

Father Borja continued to preach, teach, and travel with unflagging zeal and remarkable success. Soon after pronouncing the Emperor's funeral sermon, he was again in Portugal, visiting his colleges at Evora, Coimbra, Braga, and Porto, and negotiating for the Princess of Brazil in the affair of the regency. His holiness and his Catholic enthusiasm did not, however, protect him from suspicions of heresy in the reform panic which overspread the Court and Church of Spain. He had communicated, it was said, with Fray Domingo de Roxas, and he was summoned by Archbishop Carranza to bear witness on his behalf before the Inquisition. Reports injurious to his orthodoxy and to that of the company for awhile shook Borja's credit with the King; and they certainly obtained for him the ill-will of the inquisitor Valdés, and for a little

[1] J. Amador de los Rios, *Toledo Pintoresca*, 8vo, Madrid, 1845, p. 201.

[2] *Descripcion del Escorial*, am. 8vo, Madrid, 1843, p. 225.

CH. XI. 1567.

devotional treatise, which he had written many years before, a place in that prelate's famous catalogue of prohibited books. That such imputations should have been cast on an order of which the first rule was unqualified submission to the Holy See, well exemplifies the blind fury of polemic war, in which men, who cannot tell friends from foes, pretend to judge between speculative truth and error.

Out of Spain, however, the fame of Borja was untarnished, and his influence unshaken. Called to Rome by Pope Pius IV., to advise on the affairs of the Church, he was twice chosen Vicar-General of the company, and finally, on the death of Laynez, in 1567, received the staff of Loyola. During his vigorous rule of seven years, the company lengthened its cords and strengthened its stakes in every part of the globe, and in every order and condition of mankind. Jesuit politicians gained the ear of princes and prelates who had hitherto regarded the Society with coldness or enmity; Jesuit scholars and thinkers, no less elegant than profound, spoke through the press in every language of Europe; Jesuit fathers everywhere signalised themselves by their learning, piety, and decent poverty, and by their successes in the pulpit, the confessional, and the school;[1]

[1] See, on the Jesuits, Hallam, *Introduction to the Literature of Europe*, 4 vols. 8vo, London, 1860; vol. ii., part ii., chaps. i. and iii., pp. 25 and 63.

Jesuit colleges, presided over by teachers the ablest that the world had yet seen, arose amid the snows of Poland and the forests of Peru; Barbary, Florida, and Brazil were watered with the blood of Jesuit martyrs; and Jesuit ministers of mercy moved amid the roar of battle on the bastions of Malta and the decks of Lepanto. Never was discipline so perfect as in the ranks of the company; never was a multitude of minds so skilfully combined into a single intellectual machine, developing the powers of all, yet moved by the will of one. Like Ignatius, Borja brought to his religious command much of his old military spirit; and his addresses to his followers were frequently illustrated by images such as might have presented themselves to Gonsalvo or Alba. "Let the preacher," says he, in his excellent rules for the composition and delivery of a sermon, "think himself a mere piece of artillery, with which God is to batter and overthrow the proud walls of Babylon, and his own part of the business nothing but the lump of iron or brass, cold and heavy, and the dirty powder, black, ill-savoured, and useless, until it is touched with the fire of the Holy Spirit."[1] In spite of the duties of his command, he himself continued in person to batter the walls of Babylon, both from the

[1] *Tratado para los predicadores.* Ribadeneira, *Vida de F. Borja*, p. 233.

CH. XI.
1571.

pulpit and with the pen; his sermons and his treatises, collected after his death, filling a folio of goodly dimensions.

The General of Jesus visited Spain for the last time in 1571, being specially sent thither by Pope Pius V. as the companion of the Cardinal-Legate who was commissioned to preach a new crusade against the Turk in the courts of Western Christendom. From the moment when Borja stepped ashore at Barcelona his progress was a perpetual triumph. His son Fernando received him with autograph letters of welcome from the King and Cardinal Espinosa; his former subjects, the turbulent Catalonians, flocked in crowds to crave his blessing; at Valencia, his eldest son, the Duke of Gandia, met him at the gates with the flower of the nobility; at Madrid he held an Infant of Spain at the baptismal font; and he was treated by the King not only as an old and trusted counsellor, but with the honour due to a bearer of a morsel of the true cross, presented by the Pope to the splendid reliquary of the Escorial. Of the offers of new houses for the company which now poured in, the last which Borja accepted was that of Doña Magdalena de Ulloa to build a college at Villagarcia, a pious work in which he found, after many days, the bread which he had cast upon the waters at Yuste. In Portugal equal honours awaited him; the young King, Sebastian,

FRANCIS BORJA.

imploring his benediction, and the Cardinal-Infant, Henry, busying himself about the repair of his travel-worn wardrobe. In France, Charles IX., forsaking for a day the chase at Chambord, led the gallant cavalcade which met the Jesuit father beyond the walls of Blois; and Catherine of Medicis, seating the stranger at her side, begged for his rosary as a relic, and reverently listened to his exhortations for the extinction of heresy and heretics, exhortations which she so signally obeyed, a few months later, on the night of St. Bartholomew. During his progress from court to court, and from castle to castle, Borja led the rigid life of a mendicant friar, fasting at royal banquets, and sleeping at night on the floors of tapestried chambers. He suffered no day to pass without saying mass; and it was during the performance of this rite on a cold winter's morning, in a church lately sacked by the Huguenots, that the seeds of deadly disease were sown in his enfeebled frame. The icy air of Mont Cenis accelerated the progress of the disorder, and he lay almost in a dying state, for some days at Turin, and for some months at Ferrara, under the care of the Princess of Savoy and Este.[1] Rallying somewhat in the summer of 1572, he proceeded to Loretto to

[1] Alfonso de Este, Duke of Ferrara, was his cousin. Ribadeneira, *Flos Sanctorum*, ii. p. 588.

CH. XI.
1572.

pay his last devotions at Our Lady's shrine. Thence, feeling the hand of death upon him, he hurried forward to Rome, travelling night and day, without moving from his litter. For two days after his arrival at the house of the company, his bed-chamber was besieged by ambassadors, anxious to do honour to the friend of their sovereigns, and by cardinals desirous of taking leave of him whom they once thought of placing in the chair of St. Peter. On the third day the Roman populace crowded to the church of the Jesuits to see the General laid beside his companions in glory and toil, and his predecessors in power, Loyola and Laynez.

Borja's death.

The company of Jesus and the house of Borja soon discovered that their dead chief, a saint amongst grandees, was likewise a grandee amongst saints. His prayers, they alleged, had restored health to the sick, sight to the blind, and teeth to the toothless; and Father Bustamente, in one of their mountain marches, falling with his mule over a precipice, had reached the bottom unhurt, by virtue of the intercession of his companion. Relics and images of him grew potent in cases of fever and childbirth, flesh wounds, and heart disease; earthquakes, both in Italy and New Spain, were assuaged by his invocation; and his portrait in a village church of New Granada sweated for twenty-one days shortly before the death of the Viceroy, who

was a Borja, and during some persecution which the company was sustaining at Madrid. One of the Jesuit's bones relieved the parturient pangs of the Duchess of Uzeda; another cured the ague of the pious Queen Margaret. Pleading these portents, his grandson, the Cardinal-Duke of Lerma, applied, in 1615, to Pope Paul V. for his canonisation; and his claim being examined, and the devil's advocate heard with all the grave impartiality of the Church, a brief of beatification was issued, in 1624, by Pope Urban VIII. One of the saint's arms was left at Rome, the rest of his body was removed to Madrid, and exposed, in a silver shrine beneath lamps of silver, to the adoration of the faithful, in the church of the company.

His beatification.

Archbishop Carranza went from Yuste to Toledo, and devoted the remainder of 1558 and the first six months of 1559 to the duties of his high calling. Meanwhile, his enemy, the Inquisitor Valdés, was leaving no stone unturned to establish a case of heresy against him. Soon after his appointment to the primacy, Carranza had published, at Antwerp, a folio catechism of Christianity, or an account of all that is professed in receiving the sacrament of baptism.[1] To the Protestant, who in these days

Archbishop Carranza of Toledo.

[1] *Comentarios del reverendissimo señor Frai Bartholomé Carrança de Miranda arçobispo de Toledo sobre el catechismo christiano*, fol., Anvers, 1558. This book was so rigidly suppressed by the Inquisition, that not-

CH. XI.
1559.

looks into this very rare and still more tedious volume, the work appears to breathe the fiercest spirit of intolerant Romanism. Heresy is reprobated; Bibles in the vulgar tongue are condemned; Spain is praised as the one land where the fountain of truth is still unpolluted; Philip II. is exhorted to further persecutions; Mary Tudor is extolled as the saviour of the soul of England. "In these dangerous times," says the prelate, in his dedication to the King, "when heretics are so zealous in propagating error, it behoves Catholics to make some exertions in the cause of truth; at the request of several churches of Spain, I have therefore composed this work in Castilian for the use of private persons, and I shall shortly translate it into Latin for the benefit of other countries, especially of England." Yet this was the book in which the sharp-eyed Inquisitor contrived to find materials sufficient for the ruin of his rival. The rack, which often agonised its victims into the wildest accusations against themselves, easily obtained a large mass of evidence against the Primate from heretics who pretended that he was the author or the accomplice of their sins against the true faith. Hope or fear also brought many free auxiliaries to

withstanding its fame as the cause of the Archbishop's trial, it has not been mentioned by Brunet. I bought my copy at the sale of the library of the late Canon Riego, who was also a dealer in books, and whose note in the fly-leaf, on the excessive rarity of the volume, thus concludes, "Su precio de este exemplar dos onzas de oro ó seis guineas."

the councils of the Inquisitor; and many a friar in the habit of St. Jerome or St. Francis was ready to join in a cry against the Dominican who had secured the mitre of Toledo. To be armed against all chances, Valdés procured the ratification, by Pope Pius IV., of his predecessor's briefs, which empowered the Inquisition to arrest even prelates who were suspected of heresy.

The snare being thus laid, the Princess-Regent, who had resigned herself entirely to the influence of Valdés, summoned the Archbishop to court in the summer of 1559; and the familiars of the Holy Office arrested him, at night and in his bed, at a village on the road to Valladolid. He had for some time foreseen the storm, and he put his whole trust in the friendly disposition of the King. Philip, however, from some cause which is still a mystery, was now eager to abase the man upon whom he had so lately thrust greatness. When brought before the Holy Office, Carranza refused to be judged by Valdés, alleging the notorious personal animosity with which that prelate regarded him. The matter being referred to the Pope, he authorised the King to choose a new judge. Philip chose the Archbishop of Santiago, who must have been in the interest of Valdés; for he, in his turn, devolved his powers on two councillors of the Inquisition, mere tools and creatures of their chief. Advised by his

CH. XI. 1567.

advocate that it was useless to appeal against injustice so manifest and wilful, Carranza permitted the trial to proceed; and at first he had some hope of an acquittal, on the ground that his book had been declared orthodox by commissioners appointed to examine it by the Council of Trent. His enemies, however, had the art to prevent the opinion of the commission from being ratified by the Council, although they failed to obtain a decree of condemnation, and although eleven dignitaries of the Church expressed their approbation of the catechism. At length Carranza appealed to Pope Pius. But he, instead of trying the cause himself, was persuaded by the King to send for this purpose a legate and two other judges to Spain. Pius, however, died soon afterwards, and his successor insisted that the trial should be adjourned to Rome. Pius V., an honest man, though a bigot, remembered the good service which had been done by Carranza in England, and was indignant at the injustice with which he was treated by the Inquisition and his sovereign. When, therefore, he had succeeded, in the teeth of Philip, in bringing both parties before him in 1567, he took every occasion of mortifying the accusing inquisitors, the deputies of Valdés; and he would probably have decided in favour of the prisoner. But he, too, was called to his account before pronouncing sentence; and the

case was reopened before Gregory XIII. This Pontiff was equally unwilling to condemn the prelate or to displease the King. In a long and ambiguous judgment, drawn up in 1576, he therefore took a middle course, very different from that which the King desired, and from that which justice dictated. The catechism was declared to contain sixteen heretical propositions, which the author was required publicly to abjure; and while he was relieved from all previous ecclesiastical censures, he was suspended, during the Pope's pleasure, from his preferment, and ordered to perform certain penances, and sentenced to five years' imprisonment in the Dominican convent at Orvietto. The sufferings endured by the Spanish Primate met with great sympathy at Rome. When the Pope's decision was known, he at once proceeded to perform part of his penance by visiting the seven basilicas; and he was attended by so splendid a retinue of friends that this humiliation wore the appearance of a triumph. But long imprisonment at Valladolid, and in the castle of St. Angelo, had broken his health, and enfeebled his constitution. The unwonted excitement and exertion, therefore, produced an attack of inflammation, of which he died on the 2nd May 1576, in the convent of Minerva. He was buried with great pomp in the conventual church; and the Pope made a wretched atonement

CH. XI.
1576.

for his injustice, by inscribing the tomb with an epitaph in which the Archbishop was praised as a man illustrious by his lineage, his life, his alms-deeds, his eloquence, and his doctrine. His sad and anxious countenance, tolerably painted by Luis de Carvajal, appears among the portraits of the primates in the winter chapter-room at Toledo.

While suffering in prison the sickness of deferred hope, the unhappy prelate may perhaps have lamented that he had reached Yuste too late to explain to the Emperor the circumstances of his promotion, and to learn and remove the suspicions which had been cast upon his faith. This was the mischance which marked the ebb of his fortune. It is impossible to conjecture the cause which turned the esteem of Philip II. into hatred so bitter and unrelenting.[1] The scandal and inconvenience of having his Primate even suspected of heresy in the midst of a reform panic was so great and glaring, that his natural course would have been to hush the matter up, even had he believed the charge. But the charge was untenable, and supported by evidence that would have been admitted only before a tribunal of unscrupulous enemies. The single expression which a cursory perusal of the catechism

[1] It was known to Antonio Perez, who says he had stated it in one of his twelve memorials, which are unfortunately lost.

has enabled me to detect as being likely to alarm those who benefitted by supporting every existing abuse, is the prelate's desire "to resuscitate the ancient belief of the primitive Church and the wisest and purest age," [1]—a desire alleged by all religious reformers, from the brave men of Germany, who burst the bonds of spiritual tyranny, to the triflers of our own day in England, who wage puny war about bowings and kneelings and flowers, the mechanism and the millinery of worship. It may be that Carranza's printed theology contains (what theology does not?) passages that might be interpreted in a sense neither intended nor foreseen by the writer. It may be that he helped himself to ideas or phrases from Lutheran books whose authors he would willingly have burnt; just as the Inquisitor Torquemada sent sorcerers to the stake, yet protected himself from poison by keeping a piece of unicorn's horn on his table. Yet the historian of the Spanish Inquisition was unable to find in the Catechism any one of the sixteen propositions, upon which the Pope pronounced sentence of condemnation—a sentence wrung from the Pontiff with much difficulty even by the immense influence of the crown of Spain. It is certain that Carranza for the greater part of his life had been a divine of

[1] *Catechismo*, Prólogo, fol. 2.

CH XI. 1568.

approved orthodoxy, and a preacher of high reputation; that both in England and the Netherlands he had been a vigilant shepherd of the faithful and an unsparing butcher of heretics; and that one of his first acts as Primate was to advise the King to appropriate the revenues of one canonry in every cathedral of Spain to the use of the Inquisition. It seems, therefore, but reasonable to believe that he spoke the plain truth when he made his dying declaration that he had never held any of the heretical opinions of which he had been accused.[1]

Hernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville.

The chief persecutor of Carranza, Hernando de Valdés, Archbishop of Seville, did not live to see the issue of the famous suit. He died at Madrid in December 1568, aged upwards of ninety years, leaving behind him a fortune of 650,000 ducats to be spent in pious and charitable works in seven dioceses of which he had successively had the spiritual oversight. He had likewise founded during his life an university at Oviedo, a college at Salamanca, and a stately church at Salas, his birthplace in the Asturias.[2]

Don Luis de Avila.

Don Luis de Avila was employed at Rome by

[1] Don Adolfo de Castro considers Carranza a Protestant, and combats the position of Llorente, but without showing that any one of the sixteen propositions is found in the Catechism, or in any other way, as it appears to me, proving what he asserts. *Los Protestantes Españoles*, p. 237.

[2] Gonçalo de Yllescas, *Historia Pontifical y Católica*, 6 vols. fol., Madrid, 1613, lib. vi. cap. xxxii. vol. ii. p. 751.

Philip II. in the negotiations with Pope Pius IV., for the reassembling of the Council of Trent in 1562. He was sent thither in consequence of the illness of the ambassador Luis de Requesens, and he acquitted himself to the King's satisfaction.[1]

In 1568 he was again at Madrid, and was one of the honest and far-seeing counsellors who advised the suspension of the arbitrary and faithless edict against the Moriscos which was the final cause of the great rebellion in the Alpuxarras.[2]

I have not been able to discover the date of his death; but he must have been alive in the year 1572, on the evidence of a sonnet addressed to him by Ferrante Caraffa, Marquess de San Lucido, which invites him to become the historian of the battle of Lepanto.[3]

---

[1] L. Cabrera de Cordova, *Filipe Segundo*, fol., Madrid, 1619, p. 265.

[2] L. de Marmol Carvajal, *Rebelion de Granada*, 2 vols. 4to, Madrid, 1798, lib. i. cap. i. vol. i. p. 176.

[3] Ferrante Caraffa, *L'Austria*, 4to, Napoli, 1573, fol. 59. The dedication to Philip II. is dated 31st October 1572. The sonnet begins—

> "Avila un tempo hor Zunica e maggiore
> Commendator d'Alcántara, che caro
> Tanto fusti al gran Carlo e al figliuol chiaro."

There is another also addressed to him at fol. 13, beginning—

> "Avila, che de l'Aquila piu altera."

CHAPTER XII.

YUSTE AND ITS RUINS.

AFTER negotiating the peace of 1559, and marrying, as proxy for Philip II., the daughter of France known among Austrian Queens as Isabella of the Peace, the Duke of Alba returned to Spain. In the autumn of that year, about twelve months after the Emperor's death, he visited Yuste, accompanied by Cardinal Pacheco.[1] They remained there for three days, and were very punctual in their attendance at the offices of the Church. It was noted by the friars that the Duke, on entering the room where his old master died, took off his hat on the threshold, and remained

[1] A notice of Francisco de Pacheco will be found in Fuenmayor, *Vida y hechos de Pio V.*, 4to, Madrid, 1595.

CH. XII.
1570.

uncovered until he came out.[1] With recollections of Hungary, and Africa, and Saxony, and the confidence of Charles, thoughts of his inglorious operations in Italy, and the Emperor's consequent displeasure, must have mingled painfully in the mind of Alba, as he rode through the hills to his home and sweet gardens at Abadia.

In memory of the Emperor, the monastery of Yuste was dignified with the title of royal. Philip II. confirmed its privileges in 1562, and honoured it in 1570 with a visit of two days. As he approached the precincts, he stopped his coach, in order to read the inscription which the monks, or perhaps Quixada, had caused to be carved beneath the imperial arms upon the corner-stone of the garden wall:—

"In this holy house of St. Jerome of Yuste, was ended in retirement the life, spent in defending the faith and maintaining justice, of Charles V., Emperor, King of the Spains, most Christian and most invincible. He died on the 21st September 1558."[2]

On the wall of the open gallery, on the west

[1] Bakhuizen van den Brink, *La Retraite*, p. 56.

[2] "En esta santa casa de Hierónimo de Yuste se retiró á acabar su vida, el que toda la gastó en defensa de la fé, y conservacion de la justicia, Carlos V. Emperador, rey de las Españas, Christianissimo, invictissimo. Murió á 21 de Setiembre de 1558."

side of the palace, the following inscription records the exact date when the Emperor, sitting there, was first attacked by the illness which carried him to the grave:—

"His Majesty the Emperor, Don Charles V., our lord, was seated in this place when his malady seized him on the 31st August, at four o'clock in the afternoon; he died on the 21st September, at half-past two in the morning, in the year of Our Lord, 1558."[1]

Out of respect to the memory of his sire, Philip would not sleep in the room where the Emperor died, but occupied an adjoining closet, so small that there was hardly room for a camp-bed.[2] He presented the fraternity with some relics and a gilt cup; and he provided them with an exact copy of the "Glory" of Titian, which he had removed from their altar to the hall of the Escorial

[1] "Su magestad el Emperador don Carlos quinto, nuestro señor, en este lugar estava asentado quando le dió el mal, á los treinta y uno de Agosto á las quatro de la tarde: fallecio á los 21 de Setiembre á los dos y media de la mañana año de No. Sr., 1558."

[2] These particulars are mostly taken from the *Handbook of Spain*, 1845, p. 552, and from the notes made on the spot by Mr. Ford, from the MS. book of documents, written by Fr. Luis de Sta. Maria in 1620, and shown to him by the prior in 1832. The Abbé St. Real, in his dull *Don Carlos, Nouvelle Historique* (*Œuvres*, 8 vols. 12mo, Paris, 1757, vol. v.), most absurdly makes Yuste the scene of the imaginary loves of Carlos and Queen Isabella. The book was written in 1672, and translated into English "by H. I., 12mo, London, 1674," as a piece of authentic history; and, more extraordinary still, was cited as such by Bayle, art. Charles V.

CH. XII.
1583.

where the monks assembled to hear Scripture readings.

A new altar with architectural decorations was designed for the church of Yuste, by Juan de Herrera, the architect of the Escorial, and finished in 1583 by Juan de Segura. Some further statues and embellishments, which were probably disfigurements, were added by Juan Gomez de Mora, in the reign of Philip III.[1] The top was adorned with the imperial eagle of Hapsburg, and the armorial bearings of the Emperor; bearings which the monks also planted in box shrubs in the centre of their principal cloister.

In the year 1638 the palace underwent a complete repair, by order of Philip IV., and at a cost of 6,000 ducats.[2]

Until the present century, Yuste lacked not a due succession of Jeronymite fathers. Neither in the days of Charles, nor in subsequent times, were its worthies, who are commemorated in the history of the order, men of sufficient mark to impress their names upon any mere secular record. Content to mortify their bodies, they made little or no use of their minds. Only a few appear to have deviated from the beaten track of even monkish mediocrity. Fray Antonio de Belvis was popular

[1] Ponz, *Viage*, vii. p. 136. [2] Valparaiso MS. See Preface, p. xvi. note.

as an orator in the pulpits of Andalusia. Fray Juan de los Santos evinced sufficient taste for study to be sent by the community to the college of Siguença. Ill-health, however, cut short his academical career, and he returned to Yuste to dress vines, and to tend the sick, a work of mercy to which he fell a sacrifice, dying of the fever of which he had signally cured one of his brethren. Promoted to the Escorial, Fray Bernardino de Salinas became a favourite of Philip II.; and Fray Miguel de Alaexos, the Emperor's reader, another Jeronymite from Yuste, enjoyed the dignity of prior of that royal convent from 1582 to 1589. One monk was distinguished as a leader of the choir; another as an instructor of the novices; and a third obtained honourable notice as an agriculturist by certain improvements effected on the conventual farm of Valmorisco. Some were revered for benefactions to the house; others for their austerities; and a few for the visions which had brightened or darkened their cells. Strangers visiting Yuste were desired to observe the silver candlesticks of the altar, and the manuscript book of the choir, the gift of Fray Christobal, or the work of Fray Luis; and they were told how Father Paul had scaled the steep of spiritual perfections by making a ladder his nightly couch; and how Father Christopher resigned his meek

CH. XII.
1780.

spirit into the real and visible hands of Our Blessed Lady.

Don Antonio Ponz, the laborious traveller, and long the traveller's best guide in Spain, visited Yuste about 1780, and was lodged in the palace of the Emperor. He remarked in the church two pictures of Our Lord, bearing the cross, and crowned with thorns, which the friars attributed to a painter brought to Spain by Queen Mary of Hungary. Some years before, the Vera had suffered greatly by a plague of caterpillars which had killed many of the chestnut trees, and by accidental fires which had charred whole tracts of the forest. The consequent famine had much diminished the population, and the owners of the soil were endeavouring to restore prosperity by encouraging agriculture and the growth of silk.

Early in the present century, Yuste was visited by M. Alexandre Laborde, the well-known French traveller, and became the subject of an inaccurate sketch and ground-plan by his artists, and of a meagre description by himself.[1]

It was the war of independence that began

[1] A. Laborde, *Voyage Pittoresque et Historique d'Espagne*, 2 vols. (2 parts in each), fol., Paris, 1806. Vol. i., 2me partie, p. 118. His view has been reproduced in a woodcut in Jubinal's *Armería real de Madrid*, ii. p. 11. There is also a wretched woodcut view of the "palacio" of Yuste, with letterpress still more absurd, in the *Semanario Pintoresco Español*, No. 38, 18th December 1836, p. 312.

the ruin of the fair home of the monarch and the monk. In 1809, the Vera of Plasencia, like the rest of Estremadura, was in the hands of the French, under Soult. The first foraging party who visited Yuste did no harm; but the next comers, a body of 200 dragoons, finding a dead Frenchman near the convent gate, broke in and sacked the place. The buildings were set on fire on the 9th August, and continued to burn for eight days. All the archives of the house were destroyed, but a single folio volume of notes and documents, written in 1620, by Fray Luis de Sta. Maria, which the prior happened to be consulting about some rights disputed by the peasants of Quacos, when the Frenchmen burst in, and which he saved by throwing into a thicket in the garden. The church was preserved from destruction by its massive walls and vaulted roof, and it was likewise the means of protecting the palace and a portion of the cloister.

Enough was saved of the buildings to lodge a portion of the brotherhood. In 1813, they had the honour of receiving an English visitor, perhaps the first who had set foot within their walls since the courier who came to complain of official slowness at Valladolid,[1] certainly the most distinguished

[1] Supra, chap. vi. p. 187.

CH. XII.
1813.

of their guests since the days when literature and politics had been discussed there by Avila and Sepulveda, Ruy Gomez and Garcilasso. About the middle of June in that year, Lord John Russell left the camp of Wellington to visit the old quarters of Charles V. He found the palace of Yuste untenanted and unfurnished, but in tolerable repair, and the convent filled with monks, even more ignorant and stupid than those whose insolence and tattling moved the scorn of the secretary, or the ire of the testy chamberlain. The prophecy uttered by the preacher at the removal of the bones of Charles V. had been completely fulfilled.[1] They had no traditions to tell of their imperial guest, nor any reverence for his memory, but rather a grudge against him, because the convent had been but little enriched by his will. They spoke of the visit of a Frenchman, doubtless M. Laborde, and said he was accompanied by an artist, who had disturbed the convent and the neighbourhood by sketching, an outrage for which he had very justly been put to death by the peasants, near Puente del Arzobispo. Amongst these enlightened churchmen no representative remained of the studious book-buying Fray Hernando de Corral, nor any vestige of the library, whose

[1] Supra, chap. xi. p. 401.

black-letter tomes he was wont to read and annotate.[1]

The brief triumph of the constitutionalists in 1820 was a signal for the first dispersion of the friars. During the vacancy of the monastery, the work of destruction went on briskly. The few vases belonging to the dispensary of Charles V. which had escaped the French, were carried off by one Morales, an apothecary of liberal opinions, to his shop at Xarandilla. The patriots of Texeda helped themselves to the copy of the "Glory" of Titian, and hung it in their parish church. The palace was utterly gutted, and the church was used as a stable.

When the arms of the Holy Alliance had once more placed the crown and the cowl in the ascendant, a handful of picturesque drones again gathered at their pleasant hive of Yuste. They feebly and partially restored it, patching up the offices formerly occupied by the Emperor's servants into some cells and a refectory. But they were unable to raise money enough to pay for bringing their altar-piece back from Texeda. Mr. Ford, best of travellers, was one of the last of their visitors, passing a pleasant May-day with them in 1832, and sleeping

[1] For these facts I am indebted to the kindness of Lord John Russell himself.

CH. XII.

1837. at night in the chamber of the Emperor. The monks were about twelve in number, and amongst them was a patriarch—Fray Alonso Cavallero, who had taken the cowl at Yuste, in 1778, and remembered Ponz and his visit. "The good-natured garrulous brotherhood" accompanied the stranger in his ramble about the ruined buildings and gardens; in the evening he supped with the prior and procurator in an alcove, overlooking the lovely Vera, and sweet and melodious with the scent of thyme and the song of nightingales; and at dawn, on the morrow, an early mass was said for the parting guest.[1]

Five years afterwards, in 1837, came the final suppression of the monasteries. The poor monks were again turned out, some to die of starvation near their old haunts, others to die for Don Carlos and the Church on the hills of Biscay. The royal monastery of Yuste soon fell into utter and irremediable ruin.

1849. In the summer of 1849, in the course of a ride from Madrid to Lisbon, I paid a visit to the Vera of Plasencia. On the evening of the 4th June, halting near the gate of Oropesa to look back over the noble stretch of plain, richly wooded with olive

[1] *Handbook*, 1845, pp. 551–3. The account of Yuste is one of the best travelling sketches in that charming book.

and ilex, which lay behind and beneath me, I fell into conversation with an aged priest of the town, who sat enjoying the thyme-scented air at the base of a wayside cross. When he learned that I was going to Yuste, he said that he had been a monk there for several years of his life, but that he believed that the convent was now in ruins, and scarce worth a visit. Having been lately reading, in the cathedral library of Toledo, the story of the Emperor's retirement, as told in the classic page of Siguença, I endeavoured to ascertain from this ancient Jerony-mite, whether the traditions of his convent agreed with the narrative of the historian. The history of his order, however, had formed no part of the good friar's reading. He knew, he said, that Charles V. had taken the monastic vows in the convent of Yuste, but he did not know whether he had performed his own obsequies or not, nor did he recollect that any anecdotes or traditions respecting him existed among the fraternity.

Next day I struck off the great Badajoz road at Navalmoral, and taking a northern direction across the plain, soon entered the oak forest, which extends far into the Vera of Plasencia. Here the track became very narrow and indistinct, and the difficulty of keeping it was so much increased by a storm of rain followed by mist, that nothing but the guidance of a friendly woodman saved me from the incon-

CH. XII. 1849.

veniences of a woodland bivouac. At sunset the clouds cleared away, and as the path led through open glades, or over cistus-covered knolls bare of wood, beautiful prospects opened across the Vera to the hills in whose forest-lap Yuste lay nestling unseen. The moon had risen on the groves of venerable chestnuts which embower the village of Quacos, ere I had knocked at the door of the little inn, and disturbed the colony of silkworms which seemed to fill the whole house, except the spot occupied by my bed.

Early on the following morning, the 6th June, ascending through more groves of chestnut, yellow vineyards, green potato-fields, and orchards of fig and mulberry, I took the path to the monastery of Yuste. The corner of the garden wall, with its inscription, which Philip II. had halted to read, was the first trace of the establishment which the screening woods permitted me to observe; and coasting that wall, I soon reached the great walnut tree, and the three gates which led respectively to the convent, the church, and the palace. Having knocked at each of the crazy doors, after some delay, I was admitted into the monastic precincts by the only inhabitant, a peasant bailiff of the lay proprietors, who eked out his wages by showing the historical site to the passing stranger. The principal cloister was choked with the rubbish of the fallen upper

storey, the richly carved capitals which had supported it peeping here and there from the soil, and a thick mantle of wild shrubs and flowers. Two sides of the smaller and older cloister were still standing, with blackened walls and rotting floors and ceiling. The strong granite-built church, proof against the fire of the Gaul, and the wintry storms of the sierra, was a hollow shell, the classical decorations of the altar, and quaint woodwork of the choir, having been partly used for fuel, partly carried off to the parish church of Quacos. Beautiful blue and yellow tiles, which had lined the chancel, were fast dropping from the walls; and above, the window through which the dying glance of Charles had sought the altar, remained like the eye-socket in a skull, turned towards the damp blank space that was once bright with holy tapers and the colouring of Titian. In a vault beneath, approached by a door of which the key could not be found, I was told that the coffin of chestnut wood, in which the Emperor's body had lain for sixteen years, was still kept as a relic. Of his palace, the lower chambers were used as a magazine for fuel; and in the rooms above, where he lived and died, maize and olives were garnered, and the silkworm wound its cocoon in dust and darkness. His garden below, with its tank and broken fountain, was overgrown with tangled thickets of fig, mulberry, and almond, interspersed with a few

CH. XII.
1849.

patches of pot-herbs, and here and there an orange tree, or a cypress, to mark where once the terrace smiled with its blooming parterres. Within and without the buildings, time had dealt gently only with the great walnut tree at the gates, which reared its giant head, and spread forth its broad and vigorous boughs over the mouldering walls to shroud and dignify their desolation. Yet in the lovely face of nature, changeless in its summer charms, in the hill and forest and wide Vera, in the generous soil and genial sky, there was enough to show how well the imperial eagle had chosen the nest wherein to fold his wearied wings.[1]

[1] [It was stated in the Spanish journals, in 1857, that the monastery of Yuste had, some time before, been offered for sale, in consequence of the law authorising the disposal to private individuals of church property in Spain. It was about to be knocked down to a Frenchman, said to be an agent of the Emperor Napoleon, when the Marquis de Miravel, "anxious not to allow one of the glories of his country to pass into the hands of a foreigner," offered a considerably higher price and became the purchaser.]

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX

A Selection from the Extracts made by Don Tomas Gonzales from the inventory of the jewels, wardrobe, and furniture of the Emperor Charles V., at Yuste, drawn up after his death, by Fray Juan de Regla, Martin de Gaztelu, and Luis Quixada.

A bag, of mulberry silk, containing three portraits of the Empress, painted on vellum, and two pictures of the "Last Judgment."

Bags, containing portraits of the Duchess of Parma, on a small panel, and of the Emperor when a boy;[1] and a portrait of the King of France, with his genealogy.

A box of black leather, lined with crimson velvet, containing four bezuar stones,[2] variously set in gold, one of which the

---

[1] [Another portrait of the Emperor when a boy, the middle figure—between the portraits of his sisters Leonora and Isabel—of a triptych, probably the gift of his parents to Henry VII. in commemoration of their visit to England in 1506, and which was, in 1869, in the possession of Evelyn Philip Shirley, Esq., of Lower Eatington Park, Warwickshire, was engraved and described in *Notes on a Picture of the Three Children of Philip of Castile*, by George Scharf, Esq., F.S.A., 4to, London, 1869, reprinted from *The Archæologica*, vol. xlii.]

[2] The bezuar, bezoar, or bezar, was a stone found in the kidneys of the *cervicabra*, a wild animal of Arabia, partaking of the nature of the deer and the goat, and somewhat larger than the latter. The stone was supposed to be formed of the

Emperor ordered to be given to William Van Male, his gentleman of the chamber, being sick, as it was suspected, of the plague.

Various quadrants, astrolabes, and other mathematical instruments.

A sand-glass set in ebony, with its box.

Twenty-seven pairs of spectacles.

Thirty-nine pairs of gold and enamelled clasps (*clavos*), to be worn in the cap.

A cameo medal (*medalla de camafeo*), with its gold mounting.

A number of gold tooth-picks.

---

poison of serpents which had bitten the producer, combined with the counteracting matter with which nature had furnished it. It was a charm against plague and poison. For marvellous properties, see Gaspar de Morales, *Libro de las virtudes y propriedades maravillosas de piedras preciosas*, sm. 8vo, Madrid, 1605, fol. 202–11.

Nicolas Monardes, in his *Historia Medicinal de las cosas que se traen de nuestras Indias occidentales que se sirven en Medicina*, sq. 8vo, Sevilla, 1574, has a treatise "de la piedra Bezaar, y la yerva Escuerçonera," fol. 126–156. He derives the name from the Hebrew *Bel*, "dominus," and *zaar*, "venenum," p. 134, and says the Arabs call it *Hager*, the Persians *Bezaar*, the Indians *Bezar*, the Hebrews *Belzaar*, and the Greeks *Alexipharmacum*, the Latins *Contra venenum*. The animal which produces it he calls *cobra montega*. The Arabs believe that it is formed from the tears of the animal, shed during its immersion in water,—where it goes to cool itself after eating the serpents,—which harden and drop off. He himself believes that the stone is formed in its intestines (p. 135). The Portuguese are the great traders in the stone, and the best mart for them is at Calicut, where a fine one is worth 50 *escudos, como aca*. Some are shaped like date-stones, others like chestnuts, others like pigeons' eggs, and others *comos bodoques rendondas*. He had one himself shaped like a *riñon de Cabrito*. The colour is usually dark brown, but sometimes green and black, and sometimes *gateado con aquellos vetas que tienen los gates de Algalia de color de gris escuro*. The stone is soft and easily scratched, with a hollow in the centre filled with a dust which is the most efficacious part. This hollow and the dust are the tests of a good stone, and cannot be imitated by the Indians, who make false ones (fol. 136). There is a story of the efficacy in the *desmayo* of a son of the Duchess of Bejar seventy-four years ago—probably the lady who was the friend of Charles V. (fol. 143).

BOOKS,

Amongst which, amounting in all to about thirty-one volumes, and usually described as bound in crimson velvet with silver clasps and mountings, the following names occur :—

El Caballero determinado,[1] in French, with illuminated paintings.

The same, in manuscript, in Castilian (*romance*), by Don Hernando de Acuña ; likewise with illuminations.

Boethius : *De Consolatione*, three copies, in French, Italian, and Castilian.

The War of Germany, by the Comendador-Mayor of Alcántara (Don Luis de Avila).[2]

A large book of vellum, containing many drawings and illuminations.

Several missals and books of hours, with illuminations.

The Christian Doctrine, by Dr. Constantino.[3]

The Meditations of Fray Luis de Granada.

The Christian Doctrine, by Fray Pedro de Soto.

Cæsar's Commentaries, in Tuscan.

Commentary on the psalm *In te Domine speravi*, in manuscript, by Fray Tomas de Puertocarrero.

Astronomicon Cæsaris de Pedro Apiano.

Tolomeo.

Two portfolios, with some manuscript sheets of the histories written by Florian de Ocampo and others.

Two books of Meditation.

---

[1] Supra, chap. iv. p. 108. [2] Ibid., p. 128.
[3] Ibid., chap. v. p. 172, and chap. ix. p. 305.

Titelman's *Exposition of the Psalms*,[1] 2 vols.

A book of *Memorias*, with its gold pen. Probably a note-book, but possibly the Emperor's Memoirs.[2]

Maps of Italy, Flanders, Germany, and the Indies.

A large portfolio of black velvet, containing papers, and sealed up for the Princess-Regent.

The fowling-piece (*arcabuz*) used by His Majesty, and various cross-bows (*ballestas*), quivers (*carcajos*), and other trappings and furniture of the chase (*arreos y muebles de caza*).

PLATE.

Plate of the Chapel.

	Approximate weight in Marks.
A variety of chalices, candlesticks, crucifixes, monstrances, &c.	100

Plate of the Chamber.

Cups, basins, jugs, bottles, pitchers, candlesticks; a warming pan with its handle (*calentador con mango*); a "pizpote;" a basin in the shape of a tortoise, used by His Majesty in washing his teeth (*fuente a manera de galapago en que S. M. lavaba los dientes*); a salt-box of Moorish workmanship (*caja para sal labrada á la morisca*), &c.	150

Plate of the Pantry.

A gold and enamelled salt-cellar, with its cover; six square gilt trenchers, with the arms of His Majesty; eight saucers; chafing-dishes for keeping the dishes warm on the table; cups, spoons, knives, and forks . .	70

[1] *Commentarii paraphrastici in Psalmos*, was printed at Antwerp, in 1552, by Steels, at the particular request of the Emperor, conveyed by Van Male. See Van Male's Letters, by Reiffenberg, Ep. xxxii. p. 87.

[2] Supra, chap. iv. p. 107, chap. ix. p. 328, and chap. xi. p. 431.

Walter L. Colls Photo

"LA GLORIA" OF TITIAN.

PLATE OF THE CELLAR.

Approximate weight in Marks.

A piece of gold, to be put hot into water or wine, for the use of His Majesty (weighing upwards of 5½ ounces).[1]

Jars, mugs, and bottles, of various shapes (*jarros, tarros, frascos, cubiletes*).

Silver mouth-pieces (*brocales con tornillos*), to screw on to leather hunting-bottles; tubes (*cañutos*), with which His Majesty drank when he had the gout; spoons, &c. 400

PLATE OF THE LARDER.

Two large
Thirty-six middle-sized } dishes.
Thirty-six smaller

Two dishes for serving sucking pigs (*lechones*), saucers, &c. 650

PLATE OF THE DISPENSARY.

Cups, mugs, pans, pots, boxes, phials; box for carrying preserved lemon-peel or candied pumpkin (*diacitron ó calabazate*), &c. 65

PLATE OF THE WAX ROOM.

Six wrought candlesticks 26

Weight, in marks, about 1561
or 12,488 ounces.[2]

[1] Liquor, in which hot metal was quenched, was held to possess valuable astringent properties. See Bacon's remarks on the subject, in his *Historia Vitæ et Mortis*, v. 7; *Works*, 10 vols. 8vo, London, 1803, vol. viii. p. 422. His *New Advices in order to Health*, v. ii. p. 224, contains the following memorandum: "To use once during supper wine in which gold is quenched."

[2] The mark of Cologne, or, as it was called in Spain, of Burgos, contained eight ounces. J. Garcia Cavallero, *Breve Cotejo y Valance*, pp. 33, 36, 108.

Plate and Jewels in the Care of the Keeper of the Jewels.

A reliquary full of relics.

A piece of the true cross.

Another piece, set in a cross of gold.

Several vessels for sprinkling perfumes (*almarras*) of silver.

Two bracelets, and two rings of gold, and one of bone, all good for hemorrhoids (*almorranas*).

A blue stone, with two clasps (*corchetes*) of gold, good for gout.

Rosaries, chains, and several pairs of spectacles.

The great Order of the Golden Fleece, with its collar, and several others of a smaller size.

A small picture on panel of Our Lady, mounted with silver, which belonged to the Empress.

A box containing a crucifix of wood, the same which His Majesty and the Empress held in their hands when they died, and two scourges (*disciplinas*).

A signet-ring of chalcedony, engraved with the imperial arms.

Eighteen files to file His Majesty's teeth.

Crucifixes, Paintings, and other Articles.

A picture of the Trinity, on canvas, by Titian.

A large picture on wood, with Jesus Christ bearing His cross, Our Lady, St. John, and St. Veronica, by Master Michael [1] (in the monastery).

A picture on wood, a crucifix, which stands upon the principal altar, with gilt base and top.

---

[1] Supra, chap. v. p. 171.

A picture of the scourging of Christ, by Titian.

A picture of Our Lady, on wood, by Master Michael.

A picture of Christ bearing His cross, by Master Michael, and another of Our Lady, on stone, joined with it, by Titian.

A picture of Our Lady, on wood, by Titian.

A picture of Our Lady with Our Lord in her arms, on canvas, by Titian.

Portraits of the Emperor and the Empress, on canvas, by Titian.

A portrait of the Emperor in armour, by Titian.

A full-length portrait of the Empress, by Titian.

A portrait of the Queen of England, on wood, by Thomas (doubtless a mistake for Antonio) More.

A picture with four figures, portraits of children of the Queen of Bohemia.

Tapestry of gold, silver, and silk, representing the Adoration of the Kings.

An altar-piece with doors, containing pictures of the Virgin and Babe, and of the Annunciation of the Virgin, and adorned with nine gold medallions of various sizes, portraits of the Emperor, the Empress (2), King Philip (2), the Queen of England, the Queen of Bohemia (2), and the Princess of Portugal.

Several other pictures of sacred subjects without names of masters.

Three large books of paper, with drawings of trees, flowers, men, and other objects, from the Indies.

The great clock made by Master Juanelo, with its case, and the table of walnut-wood with cloth cover, upon which it stands in His Majesty's chamber.

Another clock, of crystal, with its base, by the said Juanelo.

Another clock, called the Portal.

Another, called the Mirror.

Others, round and small, for the pocket.

Six pieces of tapestry—landscapes.

Seven pieces, with animals and landscapes.

Twelve pieces, with foliage (*verdura*).

Five coverings for seats (*bancales*), with foliage.

Twelve hangings of fine black cloth for the apartments of the Emperor (in the monastery).

Four door-curtains (*ante-puertas*) of black cloth.

Seven carpets (*alfombras*), four Turkish, and three of Alcaraz.

Canopies (*dosels*) of fine black velvet.

A quantity of linen.

In His Majesty's Chamber.

Two beds, of different sizes.

Six blankets of white cloth.

Fourteen feather bolsters (*colchones de pluma*).

Thirty-seven pillows (*almohadas*), with much holland bed-linen (*ropa de holando*) of all kinds.

Six chairs, covered with black velvet.

His Majesty's arm-chair, with six cushions and a footstool.

Chair in which His Majesty was carried, with its staves (*andas de brazo*).

Twelve chairs of walnut-wood, garnished with nails (*tachonadas*).

In the Wardrobe.

Sixteen long robes, lined with eider-down, ermine, Tunis kid-skin, or velvet.

Six bornooses (*albornoces*), one of them presented to His Majesty at Tunis.

In the Stable.

Four mules of burden, one of them chestnut, and named "Cardenala."

A grey horse.

Two other mules.

In the Harness-room.

A litter lined with black velvet, and mounted outside with steel. Delivered at Valladolid on the 26th October 1558.

Another, of smaller size, with a seat inside, lined with black serge, and covered outside with leather.

The whole of the above property, not left in the monastery, was given over to the charge of Juan Esteque, keeper of His Majesty's jewels, on the 1st November 1558.[1]

---

[1] Don Modesto Lafuente, in his *Historia General de España*, 18 tomes, 8vo, Madrid, 1851–57, tom. xii. pp. 519–25 (Appendix viii.), prints entire the *Sumario de lo que montan las cosas que S. M. señaló se le guardasen y no se vendiesen de los bienes de Yuste.* The original, in the archives of Simancas (leg. núm. 13), from which it was transcribed, seems imperfect, and I do not find in it any mention of the contents of the Emperor's stable. There is also little plate. It, however, gives the worth of all priceable articles in maravedises. The list ends with a "Memorial de las cosas que S. M. (Philip II.) mandó se llevasen á palacio para verlas, de las que estaban en la fortaleza de Simancas, que estaban señaladas con una cruz." The articles, eight in number, were silver images of saints, weighing from twelve to forty marcos. The entire value of the "bienes muebles" which the Emperor took to Yuste is stated by Lafuente at 3,615,294 maravedises (tom. xii. p. 480).

NOTICES

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

IN 1555 AND 1556.

SELECTED FROM THE DESPATCHES OF

FEDERIGO BADOER,

AMBASSADOR FROM THE REPUBLIC OF VENICE TO THE COURT OF BRUXELLES.

BY

WILLIAM STIRLING.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR THE PHILOBIBLON SOCIETY.
1856.

PREFACE.

SINCE the publication of my *Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V.* (sm. 8vo, London, 1852), of M. Pichot's *Charles-Quint, Chronique de sa vie intérieure*, &c. (8vo, Paris, 1854), and of M. Mignet's *Charles-Quint, son abdication, son séjour et sa mort au monastère de Yuste* (8vo, Paris, 1854), the subject may be said to have been exhausted by the publication of the original materials of these works, and various other interesting papers in M. Gachard's *Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint* (3 vols. 8vo, Bruxelles, 1854–55). The closing scenes of the eventful life which ended in 1558 at Yuste may now be traced almost as clearly as those which were enacted in 1821 at Longwood. The introduction to M. Gachard's volumes supplies us with many particulars of the Emperor's life in the months which preceded his abdication of the sovereignty of the Netherlands on the 25th October 1555, and which intervened between that event and his embarkation for Spain on the 16th September 1556. The following pages, illustrating the same period of time, especially the latter portion of it, have been drawn from a source which M. Gachard does not

appear to have consulted, the archives of Venice. From the despatches of Federigo Badoer, Venetian ambassador to Charles V., I am enabled both to confirm M. Gachard's account, and to add several particulars which had escaped the notice of the authorities whom he has followed. I have given entire the despatches of the 26th October 1555, describing the first abdication, and of the 16th January 1556, containing a minute detail of the abdication of the Spanish and Sicilian crowns, an event of which I believe no contemporary description has as yet been published. The volumes from which my extracts were made are marked: *Filza No.* 1, *Spagna; Brusselles,* 1554–55; *Federigo Badoer;* and *Filza No.* 2, *Spagna; Brusselles,* 1555–56; *Federigo Badoer et Mich. Surian.*

It only remains for me to express my thanks to my friend Mr. Rawdon Brown and to the director of the archives for the kindness which enabled me to make these extracts, which I hope may be considered worthy of the Philobiblon Miscellany.

WILLIAM STIRLING.

KEIR, *January* 18, 1856.

CONTENTS.

1555. House of Charles V. in the park at Bruxelles, page 493. His health, 493. Interviews with Philip II. and Mary, Queen of Hungary, &c., 494. Rumours and conjectures as to his abdication, 494. Fleet assembles at Zeland, 495. Preparations for the Emperor's voyage to Spain, 495. His abdication of the sovereignty of the Netherlands, 495. Badoer's despatch of the 26th October, describing the ceremony, 495–499. Time of the Emperor's departure still uncertain, 499. Speculations regarding it, 499. He orders his clocks to be packed up, and grants leave of absence to Giovanni Torriano, his clock-maker, 499. He is seized with gout, 499. M. de Rye takes leave of him, 500. Agostino Doria has an audience, 500. His conversation with the Emperor, 500. Bad news from Africa, 500. Emperor's departure postponed for the winter, 501. Queen Mary of Hungary, and Duke of Savoy, 501. Philip II., 502. Habits of the court, 502.

1556. Emperor's illness, 502. He abdicates the crowns of Spain and Sicily on the 16th January, 502. Badoer's despatch of that date, describing the ceremony, 503–506. Negotiations at Cambray for a peace with France, and conclusion of the truce of Vaucelles, 506. Ruy Gomez, 506. Don Luis de Avila, 506. Truce proclaimed at Bruxelles, 506. The French ambassadors wait on the Emperor, 506, 507. The Venetian ambassador is received by him, 507. Account of the interview, 507, 508. Paget arrives on a mission from England, 508. Renunciation of Bur-

gundy, 509. Expected visit of the King and Queen of Bohemia, 509, 510. Suspicions as to the good faith of France, 510. The plague appears at Bruxelles, 510. Arrival of the King and Queen of Bohemia, 511. Rumours as to the cause of their coming, 511. Festivities at Bruxelles, 512. French outrages, 513. Excitement at Bruxelles, 513. Insolence of the French ambassador, 513. The Emperor goes to Ghent on the 9th August, 514. His emotion on passing out of the gates of Bruxelles, 514. The ambassadors have their farewell audience at Ghent on the 27th August, 514, 515. Next day the Emperor goes to the coast, 515. The feelings of the ministers and courtiers, 515. Alarming state of relations with France, 516. Contrary winds, 516. Emperor embarks on the 16th September, sails on the 17th, and his ship is last seen from the shore on the 19th, 516, 517.

NOTICES

OF THE

EMPEROR CHARLES V.

IN 1555 AND 1556.

ON the 1st August 1555, the Emperor Charles V. had already taken up his abode in the park at Bruxelles, in the lodge near the Louvain gate.[1] He was in tolerable health, though liable to attacks of gout and other complaints. Although he now habitually wore a long robe, a change of attire indicating age and feebleness, he was able to walk about his room without a stick. When the weather was fine he rode out in the park on a she-mule; and by way of trying his strength, he even ventured upon his favourite diversion of shooting, in which he found that he could carry his gun tolerably well, though his shield was too heavy for his arm.

[1] He had purchased this house (or *casino*, as Badoer calls it) in 1551, and in 1554 had repaired and improved it, previous to going to live there. Gachard, *Retraite et Mort, Introduction*, pp. 78, 79.

As soon as the King of England (for so his son Philip was called in right of his wife) arrived, Charles began seriously to prepare for his abdication and for his retirement to Spain. Every day he was closeted with his son, and afterwards with his sister Mary, Queen of Hungary, Regent of the Netherlands, Anthony Perrenot, Bishop of Arras, his chief minister,[1] and M. de Prat.[2] He sent an envoy to his brother Ferdinand, King of the Romans, to inform him that he intended to leave in his hands the government of the empire, until the formalities required in the resignation of the imperial crown could be completed. Rumour was busy with the order of things to be established under the new reign, and with the future movements of the Emperor. The best-informed observers anticipated the continuance, which actually took place, of the Bishop of Arras as chief of the council, but they were divided in their opinions as to Charles's probable choice of a residence, a matter which he seems purposely to have kept doubtful. It was taken for granted that he would continue to exercise much power, and the only question was as to the point he would choose from which to watch the political game. The Queen of Hungary, Arras, and De Prat, were supposed to be in favour of his remaining in the Low Countries, but as the presence of either Charles or Philip was greatly needed in Spain, the English ties of the one and the inclinations of the other led to the expectation that it would be the Emperor who would repair thither. Various circumstances concurred to strengthen this expectation. Don

[1] Afterwards Cardinal Granvelle.

[2] Louis de Flandre, Seigneur de Prat or Praet, descended from an illegitimate branch of the royal houses of Flanders and Burgundy, counsellor and chamberlain of Charles V., governor of Flanders, Knight of the Golden Fleece, and minister of finance.

Luis de Carvajal arrived off Zeland with a squadron of the Spanish fleet, bringing 300,000 crowns for the Emperor's use; and Don Alvaro Bazan was said to be following with more vessels. The Queen of England was reported to have offered her fleet as a convoy to the Emperor during his voyage, and to have proposed to meet him herself at some point of the English coast. The Queen of Hungary sent a quantity of furniture and other baggage to the sea-coast; and she took into her service some Spanish ladies, which she had never done before. In October the preparations for the embarkation of the royal party had been openly begun; M. d'Andelot, a gentleman of the Emperor's household,[1] was sent to Zeland to superintend them, and they were pushed on so briskly, that it was generally believed in the imperial household that the departure would take place within a month.

On the 25th October, at three o'clock in the afternoon, in the great hall of the palace of Bruxelles, the Emperor abdicated the sovereignty of the Low Countries in favour of his son Philip. The ceremony was thus described by Federigo Badoer, ambassador from the republic of Venice, in the following despatch:—

Most Serene Prince,—Yesterday after dinner the Emperor made the cession of these states to his most serene son, the lords and deputies having petitioned His Majesty that they might be no longer kept waiting, on account of the great expense to which they were put, an expense of 1,200 florins daily among them all, and because there was now no hope of the coming of the deputies from Friesland; and the Emperor having formally declared that, as regarded the question of pre-

[1] In the roll of the household as it stood at its breaking up in June 1556, published by M. Gachard (*Retraite et Mort de Charles-Quint*, tom. ii. p. 71), Joan d'Andelot appears as *primer caballerizo*, or first equerry; George d'Andelot as one of the many *gentiles hombres de la casa;* and Joan Bap^ta^ d'Andelot as one of a long list of *costiliers.*

cedence between Brabant and Flanders, his renunciation was to be made in Brabant solely for his personal convenience, and having assured them all that the King would confirm their old privileges, keeping these on their former footing and granting them new privileges besides.

His Majesty came from his house through the park to the palace, mounted on a mule and wearing a long black dress with the Order of the Golden Fleece. Shortly before him the most serene King of England had entered on foot. The Emperor took his seat in the great hall of the palace, having on his right hand the King, who also wore the Fleece, and on his left Queen Mary, near whom he made the Duke of Savoy sit, and then the Knights of the Fleece, and the lords and deputies of the provinces; all, after the Duke, having their heads bare.

One of the councillors of Brabant then began to narrate the causes which had led His Majesty to make this cession, which were his age and his ill-health, and after many observations in honour of their Majesties, concluded with the formal legal phrases used in public acts of cession and renunciation. The Emperor, with a paper of notes in his hand, because he could not retain firmly in his memory all that he had to say, recounted in their order the various actions of his life, the labours, hardships, and dangers sustained in the course of his journeys by sea and land, and his enterprises for the defence of these states, now united with England, and of his other realms, and for the preservation of the empire and the benefit of religion, saying in each case by the grace of God so I did, or so it happened; adding that not feeling in himself the vigour which the government of so many states required, and knowing that his son was capable of supporting weighty duties, he wished to give the remainder of his own life to the service of God, and cede these states, as he had done and would do others, to the King; further informing them that it was possible that he might return afterwards to see them, and saying that in this renunciation he had the consolation of knowing that he left to them a prince worthy of the true faith and devotion which they had ever shown to himself, and to the prince, subjects worthy of his merits. Then turning to the King, he entreated him to cheer him by taking upon himself this charge with good will, exhorting him above all things to have a care for religion and justice. At these last words the King's Majesty rose up with his cap in his hand, and kneeling before the Emperor, said that his earnest

desire had been that His Majesty should rule these and all his other states during the rest of his life; but that as His Majesty had firmly resolved otherwise, he for his own part swore to follow out his commands to the utmost of his power. After which the Emperor embraced him, with many tears on both sides, which caused the Queen and many others to weep also.

One of the deputies then replied in the name of the rest, that it had been the desire of them all that their lord should grant them this grace, that, as they had lived in security under the rule of the greatest prince that Christendom had known for many ages, His Majesty would continue to reign over them during the course of his life; but that, as it was the will of God that they were to undergo a change, they must render him their thanks for giving them such a ruler as the King's Majesty. After enlarging greatly in His Majesty's praises, he concluded by saying that they would obey and serve him heartily; and by entreating him not to leave the country, for the sake both of his own service, and their advantage.

The King, having said a few words, speaking, as the others had done, in French, then desired M. d'Arras to address the deputies in his name in a manner corresponding to his regard. Whereupon that most reverend lord said that the King's Majesty accepted with goodwill the burden now imposed upon him, in the hope that God would grant him His grace, and assured them that he would have that care for them which was due to their loyalty and to the expectations which they had conceived of him. He was likewise confident that henceforth they would show themselves obedient and well-disposed towards his ministers and orders; using such words as were interpreted to mean that he desired to be furnished with a supply of moneys for the war.

The Queen then stood up and begged for leave to speak,—saying that if in the course of her government she had failed in anything, it arose from the weakness of her sex, and not from her own will,—and at some length, and with her usual masculine vigour, gave an account of her many years' administration. The deputy who had before spoken, having thanked and highly commended her in the name of the States, the Emperor at last in a few words gave the assembly leave to depart.

This morning the States of Flanders and Brabant met in a hall in the Queen's apartments to swear fidelity to the King, when His Majesty

confirmed in their posts for one year all the official personages. To-morrow the other States are to perform the same ceremony.

The Archduke Ferdinand, met on the road by the Duke of Savoy, and by the Duke of Medina-celi (who went in the Emperor's name), arrived this evening with sixty followers, and alighted at the pavilion of His Majesty, to which he was accompanied from the city gate by the King, who had gone thither to receive him. The day before yesterday the Archduke reached Louvain, four leagues hence, and remained there until to-day.

[Here occurs a passage in cipher, of which the key is lost.]

Orders have been given by his Imperial Majesty for the quarter-masters of his household to set out for Zeland for the purpose of preparing the cabins in the vessels, and of allotting them by name to the persons who are about to accompany him to Spain. Queen Mary had fixed upon taking thither 200 horses, but that number seeming to His Majesty too great, he wished, upon seeing the list, to reduce it to eighty, diminishing also the number of menial servants, by allowing none of his gentlemen more than one each. The secretary Eraso has likewise been instructed to provide money to pay the commissaries who have furnished the provisions; they having given notice that all the necessary stores had been laid in.

Don Luis de Avila, who is general of light cavalry and chamberlain of his Imperial Majesty, wishing to follow him, has resigned his command. The servants of the Emperor have waited on the King to inform him that in consequence of His Majesty's approaching departure, they have been summoned before the tribunals and severely pressed to pay for articles both of food and clothing which it was necessary that His Majesty should provide them with during the time they had been in his service; and that they were expecting with the greatest anxiety the announcement of the donations to be made to them, in order by these two methods to discharge their debts. The King, having called the chief servants before him, asked, by way of counsel, their opinion as to what should be done. They advised that the people attached to the court should at once pay a third of what was due by them, and engage to pay the remainder within two years, finding security for the payment amongst the merchants of Antwerp, in hopes of thus quieting

the creditors; upon which His Majesty committed the affair to their charge to be thus arranged, as a trial of their good disposition. Commending myself to the grace of your serenity; from the 26th October, 1555. FEDERIGO BADOER, Ambassador.

Addressed—To the Most Serene Prince, and most excellent lord, the Lord Francesco Veniero, by Divine grace Doge of Venice and my very worshipful lord.

On the 3rd November, M. d'Andelot returned from Zeland to announce that the fleet was ready for the voyage, and that the Emperor might set out whenever he pleased. The time of departure, however, still remained uncertain. The Emperor's personal attendants remarked, as a conclusive sign of its near approach, that he had deprived himself of his most favourite amusement by causing his clocks to be packed up, and by giving his mechanician, Gianello (Giovanni Torriano), 1,200 crowns, and leave of absence to visit his friends and attend to his private affairs at Cremona, with orders to join him, by way of Genoa, in Spain.

On the 9th November, Charles had promised to give audience to the Venetian ambassador, but put him off, on account of an attack of gout. Till the close of the month, he was confined to his room by that disorder, and was chiefly in bed. His hands were so severely affected that he was unable to feed himself, and the symptoms were accompanied by fever. It was said that the departure would not take place before Christmas. M. de Lachaulx, an old and favourite chamberlain,[1] remarked that the Emperor had ceased to talk about it; he thought that he was also waiting for a remittance of 300,000 crowns from Spain; and some of the other ancient courtiers gave it as their

[1] Jean Poupet, Seigneur of Lachaulx, one of the *someliers de corps*.

opinion, from their experience of His Majesty's ways, that the spring was much less likely to find him in Castile than at the Diet at Ratisbon. On the other hand, M. de Rye, formerly the principal gentleman of the chamber,[1] returning to his home in Burgundy, was admitted to take leave of the Emperor as he lay in bed, and kissed his hand with many tears. On the 28th November, Agostino Doria had an audience to ask for the payment from the treasury of Spain of 100,000 crowns owing to the Prince Andrea Doria, for the maintenance of his galleys. Charles replied that the payment could not, for certain financial reasons, be made in Spain, but that the interest, 12 per cent., should forthwith be remitted to Genoa, and that the principal should be paid, if the Sicilian treasury could furnish the amount. Doria then inquired if His Majesty was soon to set out for Spain. The Emperor answered that the time was not yet fixed, but that he would certainly go, and that illness even should not stop him, "were he to be thrown on shipboard like a woolpack."[2] The Queens' gentlemen of the chamber were also continuing their preparations; their Majesties had dismissed their Flemish, German and Hungarian ladies with presents; and Queen Mary had given up her guard of archers to the Duke of Savoy, who for some days had been administering public business as Regent of the Netherlands.

Early in December, a Spanish gentleman arrived from Valladolid, from the Regent-Princess of Brazil, with the bad news that Bugia, an important fortress on the coast of Africa, had been

[1] Badoer calls him M. de Ri, but I spell the name as I find it in the household roll printed by M. Gachard, t. ii. p. 71.

[2] "Ma che non voleva per alcuna indispositione restar di andarvi, si ben dovesse farsi gettar in una nave, per dir la sua propria parole, come uno sacco di lana."

taken by the Moors. In his account of the event, the envoy threw the blame upon the Council of Castile, which had provided the garrison neither with reinforcements nor supplies for four months. The Emperor showed extreme displeasure at the intelligence, and seemed to suffer greater vexation from the loss than from any other untoward event of the war. The Spanish courtiers also feared that this success would embolden the Algerines to become still more active and daring in pillaging the coasts of Spain. On the 6th December, rumours were rife that the Emperor's voyage was given up for the winter. The Queen of England, who had again sent to know when her father-in-law intended to embark, was requested not to subject herself to further expense by keeping a squadron ready for sea. The squadron of vessels from Holland was dismissed, but not that under the orders of Carvajal, although he had repeatedly begged for leave to put to sea, in hopes of striking a blow against the French. On the 12th or 13th, the Emperor had a fresh fit of gout, and on the 18th he sent for his ministers and told them that he had for the present postponed his departure for Spain, but that he desired that the papers necessary for the cession to his son of the crowns of Spain and Sicily might be prepared with all despatch, that he might execute them in Bruxelles. In their private conversation, the ministers said they hardly knew how or when these formalities could be fulfilled, as the papers to be signed, many of which were already prepared, amounted to above two thousand. Meanwhile, the Queen of Hungary, weary of doing nothing, began once more to attend the Council of the States of Brabant. Usually arriving first, she relapsed into her old habits of command, and would send for the Duke of Savoy, as if he were merely one of the council, instead of Regent. It was whispered that if the Emperor did

not go to Spain she would resume the government, and that she had been endeavouring to get the Duke of Savoy appointed Viceroy of Milan, on condition of his marrying her niece Christina, Duchess-Dowager of Lorraine. The Duke, it was said, was not averse to either part of the plan, but stipulated that the Viceroyalty, like the niece, should be secured to him for life. There were frequent hunting-parties, which were attended by the King, the Duke, and the Queen of Hungary, and balls at night, of which the King was very fond, frequently going to them masked. Upon this pastime an English envoy, sent by the fond Mary to inquire after the progress of his recovery from some slight ailment, remarked that he would take care not to tell his mistress how the King went about masking and dancing, for she would hear of it with great indignation.

On the first day of 1556, the Emperor was still suffering and confined to bed. At Christmas, he had refused to communicate or confess, hoping soon to be better, and not choosing to receive those sacred rites in bed; but on New Year's Day, he resigned himself to his invalid fate, and caused them to be administered. He authorised the King and court, it was said, to return to the use of silk, remarking that for himself he should for the rest of his days wear mourning for the Queen his mother. The papers for the renunciation of his remaining crowns were now ready, and his inability to perfect them by his signature was producing much public and private inconvenience. Bruxelles was full of suitors from various distant provinces, who complained that none of the ministers, neither the Emperor's nor the King's, would listen to a word of their cases. It was not until the 16th of January that Charles found himself equal to the ceremony of abdication, which the Venetian records in the following despatch:—

MOST SERENE PRINCE,—The Emperor has to-day made his renunciation of the kingdoms of Spain and Sicily to his most serene son, in his own chamber in the lodge. His Majesty occupied a high chair, and the King of England a lower one over against him. On the Emperor's right hand was Queen Eleanor, and on his left Queen Mary. Behind the King stood Monsieur d'Arras and about fifty lords and knights of the two courts, all with their caps in their hands.

The Emperor spoke for nearly an hour, very feebly and as if suffering pain; saying first that he thanked God that he at last found himself in a condition to fulfil his obligations to him and to his vassals, to make this renunciation as soon as possible; for, as regarded his subjects, not having the bodily strength which he once had, he had most unwillingly left them without that careful government which they desired, and he knew that there had been much murmuring in many quarters because there had been so long a delay in carrying his intentions into effect; but that still, in executing his determination, he would rather be blamed for slowness, than for doing anything with inconsiderate haste. Placing his hand on his breast, he then swore that since his victories over the Duke of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse he had been thinking of making this renunciation, and that when a year and a half ago he was in the field at Renti, and had determined to give battle to the King of France, he had nothing more at heart than to take order that the chest, containing the deeds of renunciation and other important documents, should be carried to a place of safety; for if the battle had taken place, and he had by evil fortune lost it, as might well have happened, seeing the inferiority of his force to that of the King, he must have been either slain or made prisoner; there being no hope of escape from one or other of these chances; when, had he been slain, his son would have succeeded, as his heir, to all his states; and, if he had remained in the enemy's hands, he was anxious that the King should not be put to the expense of ransoming him as a sovereign, but merely as a private gentleman and his father. He next proceeded to say that, by his own disposition, he would have been well pleased to have escaped the cares of sovereignty, and that if the King of the Romans had not been without children for six years, and then had for his first child a daughter, he himself would not have taken a wife at all, but would have left him

successor to all his states. Then, as when he abdicated the sovereignty of these provinces, he recounted in the same order and one by one all the expeditions and enterprises which he had undertaken in the course of his life, showing how all of them had been prompted rather by necessity than by inclination, and recommended to the King his faithful and valiant vassals, exhorting him to do them justice and to honour them according to their deserts. Last of all, he gave him, with his own hand, his will signed and sealed, and his own gold seal, saying that this seal ought now to be broken, seeing that since the will was made at Augsburg a long time ago, it had sealed no other document, and he wished that it might never be used again. Having made this renunciation absolutely, and as if he had passed into a better life, he had now only to ask the King to execute exactly the instructions contained in his will; and at this point he began to weep freely. The deeds of abdication of the kingdoms of Castile, Leon and other dependencies, and the Indies were then placed before him, and after he had signed them, the King rose and went to kiss the hand of his Imperial Majesty. The deeds for the realms of Aragon, Valencia, and Catalonia were next brought, and after they had been subscribed, the King again kissed His Majesty's hand. His Imperial Majesty now spoke these formal words, "Nothing now remains for me to do, but to make over to you Sicily," which he did with peculiar precision, the Sicilians standing by, as if to show that they did not admit the claim of Aragon that Sicily was a dependency of that crown; and after the deed had received his signature, his hand was once more kissed by the King. His Imperial Majesty now turned to the Sicilian and other gentlemen and witnesses, and told them to go and kiss the King's hand, as their sole liege lord, which was immediately done. He then further remarked that he had now reserved to himself nothing but the Empire, which he would endeavour to rule with the same good intentions as before; and that if it had been God's pleasure that the people of the imperial states had known him better, they might have been on better terms with him than they now were. The business of the renunciation being thus despatched, the Emperor dismissed the Queens and the rest of the assembly, remaining alone with the King, with whom, as I have heard privately from one of the chamberlains, His Majesty was engaged in looking over papers, apparently memorials, which he took from a small box, and, after reading them through,

one by one, tore up. Monsieur d'Arras, on being asked whether the omission of all mention of the state of Burgundy in the renunciations implied that its sovereignty was not renounced, said that although the Emperor had given up to the King the Mastership of the Golden Fleece, he had nevertheless reserved his other rights over that province.[1]

Within this hour the King of Spain has despatched a gentleman into England, to the Queen his consort, to give her notice of the renunciation of these various realms, and to congratulate her, in his name, upon the many and great crowns of which she may now be styled Queen, and of which she is no less mistress than of her own crown of England; and also to assure her, that after a visit to Antwerp, whither he goes to-morrow, he will merely remain for a few days with the Emperor and then rejoin her with all expedition.

I send your Serenity the list of all the persons to whom donations are allowed by the decree executed by his Imperial Majesty immediately upon his renunciation. The Archbishopric of Valencia has not been given to Monsieur d'Arras, notwithstanding his urgent suit for that preferment, and for the transfer of that which he now holds to his brother the Abbot of Taverni: a thing at which many people are greatly surprised. But I have heard some persons say, that the Bishop of Cambray being at the point of death, Monsieur d'Arras has been told that the King will give him that bishopric. The pensions assigned to cardinals and other persons at Rome depending on the Spanish King have not been particularly notified to their agents, it being the King's wish that the first news of them should be given by his ambassador at Rome. To Signor Gio. Batt. Gastaldo has been granted, according to his request, the company of fifty men at arms which formerly belonged to the

[1] Since 1511, in virtue of a treaty concluded with France under the guarantee of the Swiss Confederation, neutrality in war had been observed between the Burgundian provinces belonging to the house of Austria and that part of the ancient domain of Burgundy which had been annexed to France by Louis XI. This treaty had been renewed by Charles V. in 1555 for five years; but as he had stipulated only for himself and not for his heirs, he feared that the neutrality might not be respected if he ceded the sovereignty to Philip during the continuance of the war. The cession was therefore postponed until peace had been made.

Marquess of Marignano. I commend myself to the grace of your Serenity; from Bruxelles the 16th of January, 1555.

FEDERIGO BADOER, Ambassador.

Addressed—To the Most Serene Prince and most excellent lord, the Lord Francesco Veniero, by Divine grace Doge of Venice, and my very worshipful lord.

Negotiations were soon afterwards opened at Cambray for peace, or at least a cessation of hostilities, between the crowns of France and Spain. At the end of January or the beginning of February, a truce for five years was concluded at the Abbey of Vaucelles. King Philip soon afterwards rewarded the services of his favourite, Ruy Gomez de Silva, at the diplomatic conferences, by bestowing on him the estate of Eboli, near Salerno, worth 3,000 ducats a year, from which he eventually took the title of prince. At the end of February, some twenty gentlemen of the imperial household asked and obtained leave to retire, and returned home to Spain, some through France and others by sea. The oldest and most considerable of these retiring attendants was Don Luis de Avila, who had been about the Emperor from his youth, and who had not only been a constant companion in arms, but the historian of his campaigns in Germany in 1546 and 1547. He was supposed to retire in disgust at receiving no promotion, and at being passed over in two separate creations of councillors of Castile.

On the 14th March, the truce was proclaimed with drum and trumpet, the roar of cannon, and the chiming of bells in Bruxelles, Antwerp, and all the chief towns of the Netherlands. The ambassadors of Henry II. of France, the Admiral de Coligny and other magnates, arrived at Bruxelles on the 25th, and were graciously received by the King on the following day. The

Emperor being confined to bed by gout, and unable to receive them, his excuses were conveyed to them by the Bishop of Arras. On the following Sunday, Palm Sunday, after performing mass, Arras administered the oath on the crucifix, by which King Philip, and the ambassadors, in the name of their master, swore to maintain the truce of Vaucelles. When this ceremony was over, Coligny and his companions waited upon the Emperor, and had a gracious reception and a long interview,[1] in which he also swore to observe the treaty.

On the afternoon of the 31st March, the Venetian ambassador had an audience of Charles, to offer the congratulations of the Doge and Signory on the ratification of the truce. "I found him," he wrote, "in very good bodily health, and more cheerful in his eyes and movements than I had ever seen him before." The ambassador then delivered himself of a long address, full of compliments upon the occasion, and upon the prudence with which King Philip had begun to reign over the states resigned by His Majesty by concluding negotiations which were likely to be so beneficial to Christendom. The Emperor replied in a speech hardly less formal and elaborate. "Ambassador," he said, "I have so often had opportunities of recognising the good feeling of the Signory towards me, that it is hardly necessary to repeat that I recognise it now, and to assure you that it shall be my constant endeavour to maintain and strengthen between the Signory and the King my son the good understanding and friendship which I myself have enjoyed. As to my renunciation

[1] Of this interview a minute account is given by Ribier, *Lettres et Memoires d'etat sous les règnes de François I., Henry II., &c.*, 2 vols. fol., Paris, 1677. *Voyage de M. l'Amiral*, ii. p. 633, which I have used in the *Cloister Life of Charles V.*, chap. i. supra, pp. 24–5.

of power, I made that of my own free will, and in pursuance of a long-cherished desire, and I am well pleased with it; for I am enfeebled both by age and illness, and it was time that my son should no longer postpone the cares of government. I was never at any time solicitous to bear these burdens, and to this step I have been long looking forward. Men may now see how far that has been true which has been said by many, that I wished to make myself monarch of the world. Such a thought, I assure you, never came into my mind, nor would it, had the thing been attainable even by words instead of deeds." He then held up his hands, crippled by gout, and, after a pause, proceeded: "Now I have no thought but how to pass my remnant of life as free from care and pain as I can; and I desire to retire somewhither, where I may finish it in the service of God." The ambassador then took his leave, thanking the Emperor for granting him so long an audience, congratulating him on his peaceful and Christian frame of mind, and hoping that his life might be long and tranquil, as it had hitherto been glorious. "I did not trouble him," he adds, "with the news that had reached me of the fleet now fitting out at Constantinople, nor about the galleys of our merchants wrongfully detained in Sicily" (a matter of warm and tedious diplomatic dispute between the Venetian and Imperial governments), "knowing that it would only annoy him, because he has given out that he will not be spoken to about affairs of business any more."

In April, an English envoy, Paget,[1] arrived at Bruxelles, charged with a mission by Queen Mary, of which the real object was to discover when Philip intended to come back to her

[1] Badoer calls him *il signor* Paget. It was probably *Sir* Henry Paget, K.B., who became second Lord Paget in 1566, and died in 1578.

longing arms. The Emperor received him on the 19th, with his usual courtesy. Paget informed him of his mistress's anxiety for the King's return; and in Her Majesty's name begged for his good offices towards that end, and also for his advice as to the settlement of her religious difficulties, "the examples of the persons put to death not having had the hoped-for effect of bringing the people back to the Catholic faith." On the latter interesting point the Emperor's reply was not reported to the Venetian ambassador; but as regarded the King, he said that he could not go to England until he had seen his cousin Maximilian, King of Bohemia, who was expected in May. Philip was meanwhile engaged in practising tilting, in preparation for a tournament to be held on occasion of Maximilian's visit, when the knights of Bruxelles were to maintain the beauty of the ladies of that city against that of the ladies of Malines, supported by their cavaliers.

Towards the end of April, M. de Lachaulx and several other gentlemen were sent down to Burgundy to perform in the Emperor's name the renunciation of that province in the assembly of its States.[1] They were also commissioned to take possession of the country for the King. Lachaulx asked for a month's leave of absence to visit his friends in Burgundy, but was only allowed eight days.

Various causes combined to postpone, from week to week, the arrival of the King and Queen of Bohemia. Maximilian was nearly concerned in negotiations pending between his father Ferdinand, King of the Romans, and his uncle the Emperor, as to the renunciation of the imperial crown, of which Charles wished to obtain the reversion, on Ferdinand's death, for his son

[1] See supra, p. 505, note.

Philip. Until he had seen his nephew, therefore, Charles would not set out for Spain; and he was also desirous of embracing his daughter Mary, Maximilian's Queen, before quitting the north for ever. Expected in May, the royal pair did not arrive in the Netherlands until after the middle of July. The preparations for the voyage of the Emperor and the Queens his sisters had been resumed in earnest in April; the list of their personal attendants was being made up; and by the middle of May, the Biscayan ship *Espiritu Santo* was lying off Zuitburg, nearly ready for the reception of her imperial passengers. From week to week the embarkation was put off, because the King and Queen of Bohemia were detained in Germany.

Meanwhile the sunshine diffused over the court of Bruxelles by the pacific ceremonial of Palm Sunday had been greatly overcast. Within a month of the exchange of ratifications, the French King's fidelity to the truce had fallen under grave suspicion. Complaints of aggression from France were made by various commanders of posts on the Flemish frontier. There were bad news from Africa. From Oran, the Count of Alcaudete wrote that the Moors were pressing him hard, and that he was in great want of men and munitions; but that, if needs were, he and his five sons would die in the place. A galley carrying five hundred men to his aid was attacked and taken at sea by the Algerine rovers. The gold of the Most Christian King was suspected to be at the bottom of this Moslem activity on both elements. The Regent of Spain directly charged the French fleet with the capture of a plate ship off the Canaries. In June the plague broke out at Bruxelles; and two persons died close to the Emperor's retreat, one of them an assistant in the shop of his apothecary. Somewhat alarmed, Charles ordered his door towards the street to be fastened up, and that leading to the

park alone to be used; and he enjoined the King to discontinue his public audiences.[1]

Early in July, the quartermaster of the King of Bohemia, the Count of Salms, and the prepositor of Trent,[2] arrived at Bruxelles; and on the 16th, Maximilian and his Queen were met near Louvain by King Philip. Next day at noon they made their entry into Bruxelles, escorted by 2,000 horse, and received at the gates, according to the custom of the town, by a number of men bearing lighted torches. On reaching the palace, they found the Queens of France and Hungary and the Duchess of Lorraine waiting for them at the foot of the staircase. After dinner they crossed the park to the Emperor's lodge, accompanied by the King of Spain. Charles received them with considerable ceremony and some stiffness in a room on the ground floor. He first embraced Maximilian, and then his daughter Mary, taking off his cap, and sitting with it in his hand during the conversation which ensued. Next day they had another long interview with him. On several following days, Mary saw her father alone for several hours at a time. No official account of the subject of the conference was promulgated. The Spanish courtiers and politicians asserted that the King and Queen of Bohemia had come to discuss a project which the Emperor had greatly at heart. He wished his brother Ferdinand either at once to give up the imperial succession to his son Maximilian, and to consent to Philip's election as King of the Romans, or

[1] On the 29th June, Charles thought it advisable to quit Bruxelles for the castle of Sterrebeke, a few miles off, where he remained until the 15th July. Gachard, *Introduction*, pp. 129–131. In my *Cloister Life of Emperor Charles V.* I have fallen into the mistake [corrected in this edition, supra, p. 25], which appears to have originated in Vandenesse's MS. Journal, of saying that he retired to Grimberghen.

[2] *Il Preposito di Trento.*

ances than on granting supplies. Neither the blandishments of the Duke of Savoy nor the sagacity of the Bishop of Arras, nor even the practised skill of Queen Mary herself, brought to bear upon them as a last resource, could induce them to vote any money. The nobles of Spain and the Netherlands, with crowned heads for their leaders, were breaking their lances in the splendid tilt-yard, when news came that a French captain with 600 men and several pieces of cannon had attacked and nearly demolished two walled towns on the borders of Luxemburg. The Council of State immediately assembled at the Emperor's lodge. A regiment of foot and some squadrons of horse were ordered to march; and the ordnance department at Malines was required to provide artillery reinforcements for several frontier places of strength. The Duke of Savoy demanded explanations from the French ambassador, who pretended that no breach of the truce had been committed by his master's troops, but that the outrage complained of had arisen out of an old dispute between two border towns. Meanwhile the ambassador himself was jealously watching the military forces of the Netherlands, and had despatched a secret emissary to observe the fleet at Zeland. On learning that it consisted of thirty-two sail, he replied to Ruy Gomez, who some days later complained of the activity which prevailed in the neighbouring garrison towns of France, that his master had equal reason to complain of so great a naval force kept together on so slight a pretext as the Emperor's voyage, a voyage which, he ventured to say, would never take place. Every courier from the south brought fresh proofs of the hostility of the Pope to the King of Spain; and it was obvious that the truce for five years would hardly last for five months.

But, notwithstanding the incredulity of the French ambassador, the Emperor had now resolved to delay his departure no longer.

The King of Bohemia returned to Germany early in August, remarking to the Nuncio before he went, that although the world gave him credit for having come on some great political errand, nothing had been done that might not have been done in his absence. On the 9th August, Charles set out for Ghent at three in the afternoon. During the morning of that day he received his natural uncle the Bishop of Liège,[1] the other bishops, and various considerable people of Flanders, who came to take their leave. As they quitted the lodge, several of these personages were observed to shed tears. Charles himself betrayed no emotion until he passed out of the town gates. Then he too was seen to weep, turning round several times as he went along to look back upon the familiar walls which he was leaving behind for ever. The King rode for a league beside the litter, before he left his father with his attendants and an escort of two hundred mounted archers of the guard. The Queens of France and Hungary followed in two days; and later in the month the King and the foreign ministers also repaired to Ghent.

On the 27th August, the ambassadors were summoned to take leave of the Emperor. He received most of them alone, the envoy of Sienna going in first, the Florentine next, thirdly the Nuncio, and fourthly the Venetian. The representatives of Mantua and Ferrara were admitted together, and last of all came the ambassador of Portugal. The envoys of France and England do not appear to have been present. Charles told them that he was to set out next day for Zeland, and that with the first favourable wind he would sail for Spain, where he hoped to

[1] George of Austria, natural son of the Emperor Maximilian I. From the bishopric of Brixen in the Tyrol he was raised to the archiepiscopal throne of Valencia in Spain in 1538, but resigned it in 1544, on being chosen Prince-bishop of Liège. He died on the 4th May 1557, aged fifty-two years.

spend the remainder of his days in retirement and the service of God. He was very gracious to all except the Nuncio, whom he had consented to receive only at the urgent entreaty of Arras, and whom he was supposed to have treated with marked coldness; because the churchman left his presence with a very downcast air, and refused to tell his colleagues what had been said to him.

Next day, the 28th, about the hour of vespers, the Emperor once more ascended his litter. The deputies of the States, who, to punish their obstinacy, had been brought to Ghent to continue their deliberations, and who had voted him 25,000 crowns for his voyage, stood around to witness his departure, and knelt to kiss his hand as he passed. The example was followed by the members of the Council of State, of whom the last was the great Arras himself, "kneeling down in the street before His Majesty's litter, with a very doleful countenance." The litter was at last put in motion, and, escorted by the King and the whole court, it conveyed the Emperor to a palace about a league and a half distant from Ghent, by the seaside. The ministers and courtiers generally spoke with great regret of his departure. "No one," said Ruy Gomez and Bernardino de Mendoza to the Venetian ambassador, "can discern any reason for it, except His Majesty's mere will and pleasure." Ruy Gomez even hoped that it might still be prevented by bad weather or a fit of the gout, "for," said he, "it is a step against the King's interest and desire, and the Emperor might just as well have remained in retirement and apart from affairs here, where he would have been at hand to assist the King with advice."

After passing two days with his father and aunt, Philip took his leave. They parted with many tears on both sides. The King was probably recalled to Ghent by the menacing aspect of

his relations with France and Rome. A few days after his return, the French ambassador signified to him that his master had heard with deep concern that the Duke of Alba had received authority to commence hostilities against the Pope; and that if such an offence against God and his Holiness were committed, his Most Christian Majesty must consider it a breach of the truce, and would himself take up arms. Philip replied that he was acting purely on the defensive, and that the movements of Alba depended wholly on those of the Pontiff. Intelligence was also received that Anthony, Duke of Vendôme, or King of Navarre, as he was styled in France, was raising troops on the Pyrenean frontier; another sign of the speedy rupture of the truce.

For the first two weeks of September the wind continued unfavourable. The shores of Zeland were thronged with merchant vessels waiting to sail under the convoy of the imperial fleet. On the 5th, some symptoms of a change of wind appearing, the Emperor sent for Philip; but the wind reverting to its old quarter, the King did not obey the summons. On the 7th, the Bishop of Arras was sent for, and repaired to the coast. It was reported at Ghent that Queen Eleanor was ill of fever; and that the Emperor had ordered a fresh supply of biscuit. On the 10th, Charles caused all his baggage, except his bed and his clocks, to be put on board. On the 16th, tidings reached Ghent that he had himself embarked at three o'clock that morning.[1]

[1] The Gonzalez MS. makes the 13th the day of the Emperor's embarkation. M. Gachard prefers the 15th, on the authority of an existing MS. account-book of Counsellor Micault, a person who was in attendance on Charles and the Queens until they left the soil of Flanders. The statement of Badoer, notwithstanding its precision, as it must have rested on hearsay evidence, is perhaps less to be relied upon.

Thirty-six persons of the household were with him, including M. de Lachaulx, "Giannello of Cremona, his clockmaker,"[1] and the Fleming, "Malineus, his reader."[2] The King immediately set off for the coast, but it was doubtful whether he would arrive before the fleet sailed. On the 19th, the *Espiritu Santo*, bearing the imperial standard, was seen off Nieuport, running before so fair a breeze that she might hope to make Laredo in seven days. The well-filled sails of the Biscayan ship soon carried Charles V. out of sight of the low shores of his native Netherlands.

[1] *Cloister Life of the Emperor Charles V.*, supra, pp. 116, 442.
[2] Id., pp. 106, 431.

INDEX.

INDEX

A.

AÇOLORAS, Fray Juan de, 176, 440.
Acuña, Fernando de, 108.
Alaexos, Fray M. de, 465.
Alba, Ferdinand, Duke of, 83, 136, 251–255, 461.
Albert, Margrave of Brandenburg, 131.
Angulo, Fr. Martin de, appointed Prior of Yuste, 325.
Anthony de Bourbon, King of Navarre, 62, 87.
Arras, Bishop of, *see* Granvelle, Cardinal.
Arundel, Earl of, 512.
Ascham, Roger, 7, *note* 1; 31, *note* 2; 131, *note* 4.
Austria, Don John of, *see* John of Austria.
Austria, Leopoldo of, *see* Cordoba, Bishop of.
Auto-da-fé at Valladolid, 413.
Avellanada, Fray Juan de, 405.
Avendaño, Martin de, 238.
Avila y Zuñiga, Don Luis, 128, 233, 237, 262, 325, 458, 506; his varied qualifications, 128; his literary merits, 128; his *Commentaries on the War in Germany*, 129; his panegyric on Charles V., 234.

B.

BADOER, Federigo, *see* Badovaro.
Badovaro, Federigo, his *Relatione*, 80, *note* 1; 84, *note* 1; his despatches, 487; his interview with Charles V. on his abdication, 507.
Bakhuizen van den Brink, M., his account of the Archbishop of Toledo's reception by the dying Emperor, 354, *note* 1.
Beckford, W., 407.
Bejar, Fr. Pedro de, 149.
Belvis, Fray A. de, 464.
Bezoar-stone, 477.
Bible circulated in Spain, 287.
Blancas, Gerónimo de, 439.
Bobadilla, Father, 126.
Bolivar, Francisco, 238.
Borja, Fr. Francis, *see* St. Francis Borja.
Bossu, Count of, 398.
Braganza, Constantino de, 60.
Brusquet, the jester, 23.
Bruxelles, Palace of, 7, *note* 1; elaborate funeral ceremonies at, in honour of the Emperor, 397.
Bruxelles, Philibert de, 9.
Bullion riots at Seville, 193.

Burgos, its reception of Charles V., 46.
Bustamente, Fr. Bartolomé, 121, 125.

C.

CAÇERES, Fr. Rodrigo, 150.
Calais taken from the English, 256.
Canary, Adelantado of, 323.
Çapata, Luis, his *Carlo Famoso*, 382.
Capital of Spain changed, 323.
Cardona, Alonso de, Admiral of Aragon, 247.
Carlos, Don, Infant of Spain, 44, 50, 65, 218; his character and training, 65, 219.
Carlyle, Thomas, his *History of Frederick II.*, 375, *note* 1.
Carranza de Miranda, Bartolomé, Archbishop of Toledo, 310; account of his career, 311; his orthodoxy questioned, 313; accused of heresy, 435, 452; proceedings against him, 453; his death, 455.
Carvajal, Gutierre de, Bishop of Plasencia, 132.
Carvajal, Admiral Luis de, 36.
Catalogue of Prohibited Books, 1559, 302.
Catherine, Queen of Portugal, 210.
Cazalla, Dr. Augustin, 295; his death, 306.
Charles II. of Spain, 373.
Charles III., King of Spain, 407.
Charles V., Emperor: his intended abdication, 1; wishes his son to marry Mary Tudor, 3; his feeble health, 5; abdicates the sovereignty of the Netherlands, 8, 494; his speech at the abdication, 10-14, 496; his abdication described by Badoer, the Venetian ambassador, 495; various pictures of the ceremony, 18, *note* 2; abdicates the Sicilian and Spanish crowns, 19, 503; Badoer's description of the ceremony, 503; retires to a house in the park of Bruxelles, 21; leaves Bruxelles, 514; sails for Spain, 27, 36, 516; arrives at Laredo, 38; his journey to Valladolid, 41-52; his journey to Xarandilla, 67-73; his enormous appetite, 92; his chosen confessor, 97; his acknowledgment of his illegitimate son, Don John of Austria, 102, *note* 5; his literary recreations, 108; visited by St. Francis Borja, 121; his feelings towards the Jesuits, 125; the state of his health, 133; he reduces his establishment at Xarandilla, 138; and enters the monastery of St. Jerome of Yuste, 139; list of his household at Yuste, 160; the style of his living, 162; his pictures and books at Yuste, 168; his love of music, 173; his daily life at Yuste, 176; his close attention to affairs of state during his retirement, 185; when urged to resume his throne he always declined, 188; his revenue, 190; his anger at the treaty made between Philip II. and Pope Paul, 218, 251; his love of birds and flowers, 223; troubled by turbulent peasants, 230; his liking for Don Luis de Avila, 235; his declining health, 249, 271; his establishment at Yuste robbed, 250; his mortification at the French capture of Calais, 257; his sorrow at his sister's death, 264; his fondness for religious ceremonies, 271; and strict observance of religious duties, 273; his familiarity with the friars at Yuste, 275; his renunciation of the crown finally completed, 280; his horror at heretics, 296; his anxiety as to his treatment by historians, 329; his health in the spring of 1558, 333; his condition becomes

alarming, 335; he performs his own obsequies, 337; taken ill next day, 339; details of his illness, 340–357; his will, 346, 389; his last private conference with Quixada, 352; his death, 357; his funeral, 360–364; estimate of his character, 364–366; his abdication and its causes, 366; his love of Yuste, 375; his prudence, 376; dulness of his writings, 377; his popular manners, 378; his religious moderation in the world, 379; and his bigotry in the cloister, 380; an apocryphal remark attributed to him, 380; portents at his death, 387; his directions for his monument, 389; his legacies, 390; funeral honours at various cities, 395–400; his body removed to the Escorial in 1574, 400; removed to the Pantheon in 1654, 404; his sarcophagus opened by Charles III., 406; again opened, in 1867 and 1870, 407, 408; his memoirs of himself, their probable fate, 432; inventory of his possessions at Yuste, 477–485; Federigo Badoer's despatches regarding him, 487.

Church, the, in Spain, its condition in 1558, 283; the endeavour to reform it crushed, 288; its enormous power and the strength of its position, 291.

Coligny, Admiral de, 22, 506–507.

Cordoba, Bishop of, 203.

Cordoba, Martin de, Count of Alcaudete, 344.

Cornelio, Dr., *see* Mathys, Dr. Cornelio.

Corral, Fr. Hernando de, 150.

Corvinus, M., epigram by, 4, *note* 2.

Çurita, Gerónimo, 438.

D.

D'Andelot, Mons., 495, 499.

Delgado, Gaspar, 403, *note* 3.

De Thou, J. A., 38, *note* 1.

Dolce, Ludovico, 38, *note* 1.

Doria, Agostino, 500.

Dueñas, Rodrigo de, 69.

Durango, Alcalde, 38.

E.

Eboli, Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of, *see* Melito.

Egmont, Count, 212, 316.

Eleanor, Queen-Dowager of Portugal, 29, 85, 402; Charles V.'s treatment of her, 30; Roger Ascham's description of her, 31, *note* 2; visits the Emperor at Yuste, 240; her desire to see her daughter, the Infanta Mary, 242; meets her daughter, 259; her last illness, 261; her death, 262.

Elizabeth of Valois, 411.

Emanuel Philibert, Prince of Savoy, 82.

English House of Commons, said to have been bribed to vote for Mary's marriage with Philip II., 4, *note* 1.

Escorial, the, 400.

Evelyn, John, 360, *note* 2.

F.

Factor, Fray Nicolas, 414, 416.

Ferdinand, King of the Romans, 20, 21.

Ferdinand the Catholic, 372.

Fernandez de Velasco, Pedro, Constable of Castile, 46.

Ford, R., 463, *note* 2; his visit to Yuste, 469.

G.

Gachard, Mons., his *Retraite et Mort de Charles V.*, 489.

Gallait, Louis, his picture of Charles V.'s abdication, 18, *note* 2.

Gandia, Charles, Duke of, 247.
Gandia, Francis, Duke of, *see* St. Francis Borja.
Garcilasso de la Vega, 326, 343.
Gasca, Pedro de la, Bishop of Palencia, 49.
Gaztelu, Martin, 40, 91, 434; his position as Secretary to Charles V., 105.
George of Austria, Bishop of Liège, 514, *note* 1.
Giron, Pedro, Count of Urueña, 327.
Granvelle, Anthony Perrenot de, Bishop of Arras, afterwards Cardinal, 15, 22.
Golden Fleece, 27, 28.
Gomez de Silva, Ruy, *see* Melito.
Gonzalez Manuscript, 122, *note* 2.
Guerrero, Francisco, musician, 175, *note* 1.
Guise, Duke of, his brilliant capture of Calais, 256.
Guzman, Fr. Domingo de, 305, 307.

H.

Haro, Don Luis de, 406.
Henry II., King of France, 22, 81.
Heretics arrested by the Inquisition, 295.

I.

Index Expurgatorius, 302.
Infantado, Duke of, 241.
Inquisition, the, in Spain, 283, 290.
Inquisitor-General, *see* Valdés, Hernando de.
Isabella of Portugal, wife of Charles V., 2, 402.
Isabella, Infanta, 373.
Isabella of Valois, 411; portrait of, 412.
Italy, war in, 136, 213.

J.

Jesuits, order of, 125, 446.[1]
John III., King of Portugal, 208.
John of Austria, Don, 102, 321, 372, 417, 418; his early training, 103; the Emperor's declaration regarding his being his illegitimate son, 384, 392; portrait of, 419; his expedition against the Moriscos in 1569, 421; his affection for Quixada and his wife, 422, 423.
Juan, Prince of Brazil, 53.
Juana, Infanta, 39, 53, 210, 322, 413; her character and ability, 57; her unjust seizure of private bullion for government purposes, 193; her strong will, 267; her retirement from the world, 414; her death, 415.
Juana, Queen, 373.
Juanelo, *see* Torriano.

L.

Laborde, Alexandre, 466.
La Chaulx, M. de, 42, 183, 499, 509.
Lafuente, Don Modesto, 485, *note* 1.
Laredo, 37.
Layard, Rt. Hon. A. H., 408, *note* 2.
Lazarillo de Tormes, 228.
Leoni, Pompeyo, 304.
Los Santos, Fray Juan de, 465.
Louis XIV., 374.
Luis of Portugal, 60–61.
Luther, Martin, 309.

M.

Maes, Jacques, Syndic of Antwerp, 15, 18.
Male, *see* Van Male.
Malin, Admiral, 316.
Manning, G. W., and his coffin, 360, *note* 2.
Manrique, Pedro, Bishop of Salamanca, 38.
Manrique de Lara, Juan, 318.
Marche, Oliver de la, 108.
Marck, Cardinal Erard de la, 338.

Margaret, Archduchess, 373, 416.
Margaret, Queen of Philip III., 374.
Maria Theresa, 374.
Marliano, Luis, author of the Emperor's device, "Plus Ultra," 370, *note* 1.
Mary, Empress, 416.
Mary, first wife of Philip II., 2, 402.
Mary, Infanta of Portugal, 3, 85; her unfeeling treatment of her mother, Queen Eleanor, 242; meets her mother, 259.
Mary, Queen-Dowager of Hungary, 11, 17, 402, 409; her character and habits, 32–36, 500; visits the Emperor at Yuste, 240; her grief at her sister's death, 263; her death, 410.
Mary, Queen of Bohemia, 25, 511.
Mary Tudor, Queen of England, 3, 508; death of, 258, 411.
Mason, Sir John, his account of Charles V.'s abdication, 13.
Massi, Francisquin, 102.
Mathys, Dr. Cornelio, 115, 343, 435.
Mathys, Dr. Henry, physician of Charles V., 115, 333, 335, 342, 435; burns his Bible, 303.
Maximilian, Emperor, 372.
Maximilian, King of Bohemia, 25, 509.
Melito, Ruy Gomez de Silva, Count of, 196, 506, 515; sent as envoy by Philip II. to Charles V., 196; his second visit to Yuste, 207.
Memoirs of Charles V., *see* Van Male, William.
Mendoça, Doña Felipa de, 260, *note* 1.
Mendoza, Bernardino de, 515.
Mignet, Mons., his *Charles-Quint*, 50, *note* 2, 489.
Mole, Dr. Giovanni Antonio, 115.
Moron, Guyon de, 434.
Mudarra, Fr. Alonso, 150, 276.

N.

NAVAGIERO, B., 2.
Navarre, King of, *see* Anthony de Bourbon.
Nieremberg, J. E., 122, *note* 2.

O.

OCAMPO, Florian de, 129, 329, 330.
Oran, army of, cut to pieces, 344.
Orange, William the Silent, Prince of, 8, 10, 19.
Oropesa, Ferdinand, Count of, 78.
Ortega, Fray Juan de, 88, 154, 227.
Osorio, Francisco, 50, *note* 2; 52, *note* 1.

P.

PACHECO, Cardinal, 461.
Padilla, Gutierre de, 48.
Paget, Sir Henry, 508.
Paul IV., Pope, 79, 215, 413.
Pendarus, Sir W., and his coffin, 360, *note* 2.
Philip II., King of Spain, 213, 400, 404, 436, 453, 456, 462, 495–499, 503–504, 506, 510, 511, 512, 515; made Duke of Milan, 2; his proposed marriage with Mary Tudor, 3; made King of Naples, 6; made Grand Master of the Golden Fleece, 7; Charles V.'s abdication in his favour, 8–18, 494; sends an envoy to consult Charles V., 196; his shameful treaty with Pope Paul IV., 215; his timidity and procrastination, 255; the friend of friars, 372; his third marriage, 411; his persecuting spirit, 413.
Philip III., 404; his devotion, 372.
Philip IV., 373, 404.
Pichot, Mons., his *Charles-Quint*, 489.
Pie de Concha, Fray M., 88.
Pirates of the Mediterranean, 200.
Pires, Lorenzo, 2.

Plasencia, Fr. Gerónimo de, 149.
Ponce de la Fuente, Dr. C., 305, 308.
Ponz, Don Antonio, 466.
Portugal and Spain, jealousy between, 243.
Prohibited books, catalogue of, 1559, 302.

Q.

QUACOS, the origin of the name of the village, 395, *note* 1; the villagers of, their demonstration on the removal of the Emperor's body, 401.
Quixada, Luis Mendez, 39, 90, 184, 350, 428; his ancestry, 100; account of his career, 101; Don John of Austria committed to his charge, 102; his character, 105; gets leave of absence from the Emperor, 225; returns to his duties, 226; brings his wife and household to Yuste, 321; his devoted attendance on the Emperor, 341; his grief at the Emperor's death, 359; enters the service of Philip II., 416; his fidelity, 417; his death, 422; portrait of, 429.

R.

REGLA, Fr. Juan de, 354, *note* 1, 355; the chosen confessor of Charles V., 97; his birth and training, 97; his popularity, 98; accuses the Archbishop of Toledo of heresy, 435; becomes confessor to Philip II., 437; his death, 438.
Revenue of Emperor, 190.
Ribadeneira, P., 122, *note* 2.
Richardot, Francis, 398.
Robertson, Dr., 75, *note* 3.
Rome, funeral honours to the Emperor at, 399.
Roxas, Fr. Domingo de, 295.
Roxas, Fr. Francisco de, 307.
Ruscelli, 328, *note* 3.
Russell, Lord John, 468.
Rye, Mons. de, 500.

S.

ST. ENGRACIA, 438, *note* 2.
St. Francis Borja, Duke of Gandia, 117, 327, 330; his extraordinary career, 117; becomes a monk, 119; comes to visit Charles V. at Xarandilla, 121; his *Apologia*, 123; sent as envoy to Portugal, 245; the Emperor's confidence in him, 247; his funeral sermon on the Emperor's death, 395; his orthodoxy questioned, 445; called to Rome, 446; made chief of the Jesuits, 446; his triumphal visit to Spain, 448; his last illness, 449; his death, 450; miracles wrought by his bones, 450; his beatification, 451.
St. Jerome, the order of, 143; its rise and history, 143–146.
St. Matthias' Day specially observed by Charles V., 275.
St. Quentin, battle of, 211.
Salazar de Mendoça, Dr., 360, *note* 2.
Salinas, Fray B. de, 465.
Sandoval, Fr. P. de, 360, *note* 2.
San Gerónimo, Fr. Diego de, 150.
Santa Clara, Convent of, at Gandia, 414.
Santandres, Fr. Juan de, 176, 440.
Sant Erbas, Pedro de, jester, 59.
Scharf, George, 477, *note* 1.
Sempere, his epic poem *Carolea*, 381.
Sepulveda, Juan Gines, 231, 330.
Shish, Mr., his coffin, 360, *note* 2.
Siliceo, Cardinal-Archbishop Juan Martinez, 132, 202, 310.
Sleidan, Jean, his *Commentaries*, 131, *note* 4.
Snouckaert, Wilhelm, 165, *note* 1.
Solyman the Magnificent, 6, 200.

Spain, anxious position of its affairs during the Emperor's retirement, 198; and Portugal, jealousy between, 243.
Strozzi, Marquis de, 24.

T.

TASSO, Bernardo, 129, 328, *note* 3.
Thermes, Maréchal de, Governor of Calais, 316.
Toledo, its water supply, 442.
Torriano, Juanelo, Charles V.'s watchmaker, 116, 499; his work for Charles V. at Yuste, 178; his ingenious mechanism for supplying Toledo with water, 442; his death, 444.
Turkish fleet invades Naples, 318.

U.

ULLOA, Doña Magdalena de, wife of Luis Quixada, 102, 331, 394; kindly received by the Emperor at Yuste, 321; the affection of Don John of Austria for her, 422–425; her piety, 425; benefactions, 425–427; her death, 427.

V.

VALDÉS, Hernando de, Archbishop of Seville, Inquisitor-General, 203, 269, 458; money demanded from him for state purposes, 204; his endeavours to avoid giving it, 205–207; his enormous powers as Inquisitor-General, 294; his measures to check heresy, 301.
Valladolid, 52.
Vandenesse, 43, *note* 1.
Van Male, Aurelius Augustus, 433.
Van Male, Charles, 433.
Van Male, William, Gentleman of the Chamber to Charles V., 106, 431; account of his career, 106; his faithful service, 110; his books, 112; his marriage, 114; his death, 431; his Memoirs of Charles V. probably destroyed, 432.
Vasquez de Molina, Juan, 50.
Vega, Garcilasso de la, *see* Garcilasso.
Vega, Gaspar de, architect, 88.
Vehse, E., his *Memoirs of the Court of Austria*, 375, *note* 1.
Villacastin, Fr. Antonio de, 152; his history, 152; acts as master of the works at Yuste, 153; appointed master of the works at the Escorial, 440; his death, 441.
Villalva, Fr. Francisco de, a famous preacher, 175; funeral sermon by him, 361; appointed one of the preachers to Philip II., 439; his death, 439.
Villebon, Mons. de, 317.
Vililla, the famous bell of, 387.

W.

WADE, Roger, 338, *note* 2.
Wellington, Duke of, his Collar of the Order of the Golden Fleece, 168, *note* 2.
William, Prince of Orange, *see* Orange.

X.

XARANDILLA, village of, 74.
Xeres, Fr. Juan de, 149.

Y.

YEPES, Fray Melchor de, 149.
Yuste, where Charles V. spent his last